

MIENNONITE

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Americanism, Pro-Germanism, and Conscientious Objectors during World War I

By Gerlof Homan



Menno Esch (1879-1967), a minister and bishop of the Fairview Mennonite Church in Michigan during the World War I years when his members were harassed and their meetinghouse burned down. Known as a strong church leader with 46 years of active ministry, he was also a progressive farmer. According to local historian Ora Troyer, Esch personally hand-hewed the two main forty-foot-long beams of the new meetinghouse which replaced the one burned down by American patriots in 1918. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Ora Troyer Collection

For many Mennonites' World War I was a difficult and sometimes traumatic experience. Mennonites were criticized for their reluctance or refusal to purchase so-called Liberty Bonds and to contribute to the Red Cross, and for their conscientious objection to war. Furthermore, many Mennonites still spoke the German language or some dialect of it. As a result, many patriotic neighbors concluded that Mennonites were not loyal and perhaps even pro-German.

In many communities Mennonites were harassed and sometimes even tarred and feathered for their alleged failure "to do their bit." In three instances their meeting places were destroyed by "patriotic" arsonists. One building that was reduced to ashes was the facility of the Mennonite Church in Fairview, Michigan.

Resentment towards Mennonites in Fairview had been rather intense in the months preceding the burning of the meetinghouse and reflected especially the community's contempt for conscientious objection to war. But also political factors played an important role. Especially in Comins Township, the area in which Fairview was located, Mennonites had been active and successful in Democratic politics and secured a number of local offices. Some individuals resented the Mennonites' political success and eagerly seized upon the war-time super-patriotic hysteria to discredit them.

Shortly before the Comins Township election of April 1, 1918, posters and handbills warned Comins Township voters that a vote for the Mennonites was a vote for the Kaiser, the

German emperor. Furthermore, William F. McNeely, chairman of the Oscoda County American Defense Society, a patriotic organization formed during the war, sent a letter to the voters of Comins County urging them in very scathing language not to vote for Mennonite candidates for office.

Perhaps no other document reflects anti-Mennonite sentiment as much as this letter which was only recently uncovered in the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana and is now published in this issue.²

The amount of intimidation was successful, and the McNeeley faction won the election on April 1. But the victors were not satisfied, and on April 4 McNeely and his friend, John Speck, burned down the Mennonite meeting-house as well. However, the Mennonites were undaunted and in 1919 built a new facility.³

To the American Voter of Comins Township:

The issue at this spring election of Comins Township officers is whether AMERICANS, by AMERICA, for AMERICA, are to hold authority and govern in this township of Comins, in this Country, this State or this Nation; or, whether known sympathizers with Emperor William Hohenzollern of Germany and his murderous Germanic supporters are to govern American homes in Comins Township and in Oscoda County. Shall we, in this bitterly crucial hour when the shaft of death is poised for a blow at our blood-bought Liberty, elect men to office in Comins Township who, even professing Americanism, nevertheless give the lie to their claim by a halting, vacillating, will-o'-the-wisp "Patriotism" that has the official o.k. of the Kaiser and weakens our cause in the

war that means more to you than any other contest waged since the dawn of the first day. The issue is ____? and this issue is admittedly the only issue in every precinct in every County in every State in the UNITED STATES at this hour.

Soon after the United States went into this war with Germany, two men, high in the Mennonite church officially, sent a circular letter to the ministers of the various congregations to be read to their flocks. In this letter they commanded the members not to give a cent to the Red Cross, —not to buy a Liberty Bond, in fact, DO NOTHING that would aid this country in carrying on the war.⁴ The letter sent to Bishop Menno Esch of Fairview was obtained by Oscoda county officials, after he had read it in church, and put into the hands of the United States District Attorney and copies were sent to Washington. Copies of this letter are on file in the prosecuting attorney's office and in the hands of other officials. While most of their work tending to assist Germany against this country is veiled by scriptural quotations and pretences of loyalty to this government, enough has leaked out so that at least one man high in church affairs has been arrested and is now under bonds.⁵

At the meeting held in Fairview Thursday evening, March 14, 1918, Rev. Bixler,⁶ one of the ministers who signed the letter above mentioned, preached a warning sermon in which he told the members to stand firm in their position but to be careful what they said because "our enemies are watching us and they want to put us in jail." He presented a case from the bible which was supposed to be a parallel to their position. One of the ancient kings of Israel was about to be attacked by an enemy in large numbers. He went to the Lord in prayer

and was told that this was the Lord's battle and he would do the fighting. That he, the king, should go out with his army but put his singers in front. He did so and the Lord threw confusion into the ranks of the enemy so that they slew one another so that they were routed. The king and his followers then went forth and gathered up the spoils. It took them three days. In other words, the Mennonites should stand back and let the rest of the world fight and then step in and reap the benefit.

In a recent issue of the **Gospel Herald**, the official organ of the Mennonite church, appeared an article written by David Garber, Waynesboro, Va., in which it was asked, "Is there any danger of yielding any ground and giving the judgement over to the president of the United States as to what we may or may not do with reference to the world war?"⁷ In answer to this question the editor says, "Let us never forget that non-resistant people can have but one consistent attitude toward war, —DO NOTHING (NOT EVEN AGRICULTURAL WORK) under the military establishment."

Before the war was declared on Germany by this country nearly all of these people were openly pro-German. We have even heard Germany's atrocities in Belgium defended. We have heard Mennonites gloat over the sinking of the Lusitania. We could see their faces brighten when news of the success of the German army was received. We have heard the patriots of America condemned because they wanted to go into war at an earlier date. And now they TELL us that they are loyal American citizens.

Mr. American Citizen, Can YOU believe them?

Your consideration is asked to a cause in Oscoda County in which as will here be shown, a young man⁸

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whose family are Mennonite members sought to evade the military draft, even contracting marriage when it was known that the draft was approaching, later using the dependency of his wife as a reason for evading draft, and that in his attempt at evasion he was aided and abetted by members of the Mennonite church contrary to American ideals, aims and standards. And thus that members of the Mennonite church and PARTICULARLY TWO men who today are CANDIDATES for public office in Comins township, for the two highest offices in the township, gave their greatest possible support toward nullifying the operation of the draft to America's army of defense in this man's case.⁹ The following facts are significant:

1st. This young man was working on a railroad in Detroit when the draft law was proposed. At this time rumors were about that farmers and married men would be exempted. He hastened back to Fairview and went on one of his father's farms, for which other arrangements had already been made for farming.

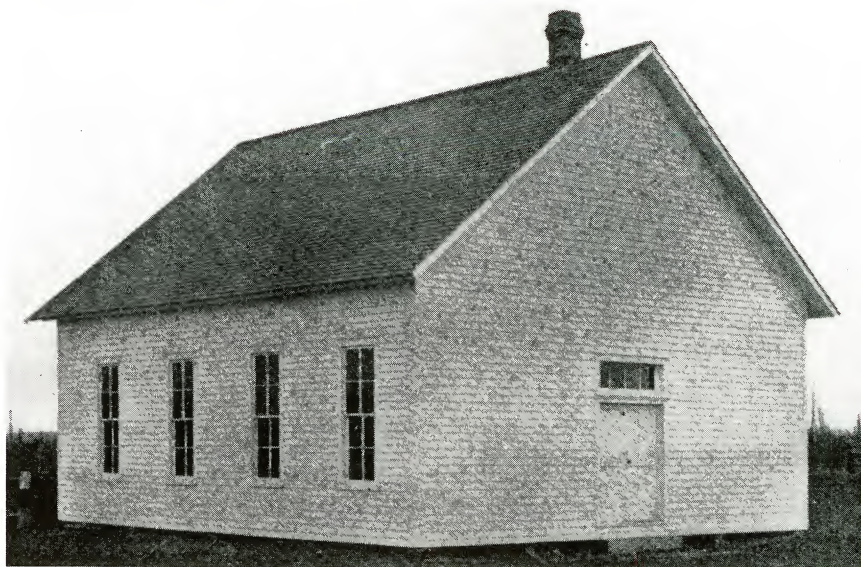
2nd. War was declared on April 5. Only five weeks after war was declared this man became a married man. This very marriage was in conflict with the teachings of that church for the reason that the very estimable young lady whom he married was not a Mennonite, which made the marriage a violation of the Mennonite teachings.

3rd. On registration day, June 5, he claimed exemption from the fact that he was a member of the Mennonite church.

4th On August 10 he filed a claim for discharge on the grounds that he was a married man with a wife wholly dependant upon him for support and such claim was considered by the local board and denied. He filed a claim of appeal to the District Board at Bay City against the findings of the local board of Oscoda County. Such appeal was denied and he was drafted into the service of the United States and is now at Camp Custer.

5th. According to the regulations of the selective service act all men who were married after war was declared should be considered as single men inasmuch as the term applies to the selective draft.

It appears that this man was a slacker and any excuse was good enough so long as he could evade service. For several weeks past and at



Fairview Amish Mennonite Meetinghouse. Constructed in 1904, the building was burned down on April 4, 1918, by patriotic neighbors who resented the Mennonite conscientious objectors. Photo: Fairview Mennonite Church, Ora Troyer, 1990, page 35

the present time, members of the Mennonite church have been doing all in their power to have this man released. Public officials have even been accused of "crookedness" in connection with this matter.

Remember, Mr. American Citizen, that these people have not been asked to stand on the firing line with a gun and take ANYONE'S life. They HAVE been asked to do only non-combatant work. THEY REFUSED EVEN TO PUT ON THE UNIFORM OF THE UNITED STATES or to do work of ANY KIND WHATEVER. Remember also that this man's father was highly elated over the sinking of the LUSITANIA and the willful murder of unoffending citizens thereon, and he defended this act of the German barbarians.

In the name of the God of the New Testament, the God to whom George Washington knelt and prayed that winter night at Valley Forge in the great war for American Freedom, if this is not PRO-GERMAN, PRUSSIANISM, ANTI-AMERICANISM, then, sir, tell us red-blooded Americans what it is.

This man openly JUSTIFIED THE INVASION OF BELGIUM and publicly BOASTED that Germany COULD NOT BE DEFEATED.

He, under the same influences, scouted the proved fact that Germany had sought an alliance with Mexico against this nation.

And consider the fact, Mr. Voter, that for every one of these men ex-

empted another man must be substituted from this county, not to take his place in non-combatant service in the mess hall, but on the firing line where his life is in danger.

Do not forget, American fathers and mothers who have sons over there, who have and will face death in the most horrible forms from poison gas, asphyxiating shells, liquid fire and all the other hellish instruments of death that the GERMAN PEOPLE are using to destroy LIBERTY and spread the hellish doctrine and teaching of German "frightfulness" and Kultur, that your son will "go over the top" and that he may be wounded and lie helpless in "no man's land." Who will face death to bandage his wounds, to stop the flow of blood before it is too late, to administer the merciful anesthetic, to ease the terrible pain, to carry him back to the hospital or to take his last message to you? Will it be a MENNONITE? No. We have their answer. It is "LET HIM DIE."

There is only one conclusion. There is no HALF WAY ground in this war. These people are either FOR or AGAINST this nation. If they are AGAINST us they MUST be FOR Germany. A four year old child can reason that. There has not been one single thing that they have done as a church to aid this government in the prosecution of this war, but, they have done many things that would earn them the "Iron Cross" from the Kaiser.

Mr. American Citizen, this nation is facing the biggest task that it has ever faced in which our lives, our fortunes, and everything that we hold dear, is at stake. We can not afford to have the copperheads at our back using their poisonous fangs at every opportunity to destroy the morale of our people (which military men and our statesmen tell us is as important if not more so than the morale of the soldier on the firing line) and to hinder our government in the prosecution of this war. Every true American citizen should register a vote against these traitors, because a "conscientious objector" who votes is a hypocrite and a traitor, and should be dealt with as such.

At the next session of the legislature the American people are going to demand that conscientious objectors and pro-Germans should be disfranchised, and there is not the slightest doubt but that it will be done. IN THE MEANTIME GO TO THE POLLS AND VOTE FOR AMERICANS.

Signed: W.F. McNeely, Chairman.
American Defense Society,
Oscoda County Division



Gerlof Homan of Normal, Illinois, is author of **American Mennonites and the Great War**, a Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History volume sched-

uled to be released by Herald Press in April of 1994.

¹ The term Mennonite is here used generically and includes all Anabaptist groups.

² Historical Manuscripts. 1-311. J. Mast. Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Ind. Punctuation and capitalization in the document have not been changed.

³ On the burning of the Fairview Church see the author's, "The Burning of the Mennonite Church, Fairview, Michigan, in 1918," **Mennonite Quarterly Review** (April, 1990), 99-112.

⁴ This letter might have been sent by the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference.

⁵ No Mennonite leader was arrested and imprisoned during World War I.

⁶ Jacob K. Bixler (1877-1939) of Wakarusa, Indiana, influential bishop in the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference.

⁷ This article entitled "Who is Judge?" appeared in the January 24, 1918, issue of the **Gospel Herald**.

⁸ This was William Handrich, whose family had begun attending the Mennonite Church. Most of McNeely's allegations against Handrich were untrue.

⁹ These two candidates were probably M.S. Steiner and Eugene Caldwell.

The History of

By Ted Koontz

Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War. Peter Brock. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pp. 385. \$55.00.

Freedom from War: Nonsectarian Pacifism 1814-1914. Peter Brock. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pp. 436. \$60.00.

The Quaker Peace Testimony: 1660 to 1914. Peter Brock. York, England: Sessions Book Trust, 1990. Pp. 387. \$40.00. (North American distributor is Syracuse University Press.)

For one, such as myself, who seeks a path to a vital and sustainable Christian pacifist commitment in a fast-changing world, nothing is more essential than some grasp of the history of pacifist movements. A look at that history can provide perspective, perhaps pointing out pitfalls to avoid and directions to turn.

Those of us who are not called to the work of uncovering the twists and turns of that history must rely on the work of careful, knowledgeable historians to guide us. In this context, Peter Brock's work has long been of primary importance. His books are important not only for historians but also for church leaders who seek to pass on and expand a rich heritage of commitment to peace.

Peter Brock's three recent books enhance and extend his earlier work as a magnificent contribution to the history of Christian pacifism and the peace movement up to 1914. Professor Brock's focus is on pacifism in the strict sense, "the renunciation of war by the individual."¹ Together, these books provide the reader with a comprehensive overview of the main currents of pacifist thought and action.

The publications unquestionably represent the first source to which any person wishing to understand pacifism ought to turn. They reconfirm Peter Brock's stature as Dean of all histori-

John Horsch Mennonite History Essay Contest 1993

Class I - Graduate School and Seminary

First Place: **Patricia Faith Harms**, Princeton Theological Seminary, "Guatemalan Anabaptism: Towards an Authentic Protestantism."

Second Place: Allan Friesen, University of Winnipeg and Canadian Mennonite Bible College, "The Tiegenhagen Congregation: Four Centuries of Community."

Third Place: Tammy L. Peters, Purdue University, "'Helping Somewhere': Mennonite Women at the Chicago Home Mission."

Class II - Undergraduate College and University

First Place: John Unruh-Friesen, Bethel College, "Dietrich Neufeld and 'Velvet Revolution': Education, instead of Violence and Terror, as a Means of Achieving Societal Change."

Second Place: M. Burt McGrath, Werner Jearond Trinity College and Eastern Mennonite College, "A Hermeneutics of Community and Obedience: Anabaptist-Mennonite Biblical Interpretation."

Third Place: Angela Heide, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, "Anabaptist Witness and the Commission on Overseas Mission."


Total entries: 18

Awards: First, \$100; Second, \$50; Third, \$25, and one-year subscription to **Mennonite Quarterly Review** and **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**.

Judges: Leonard Gross, Walter Sawatsky, David Rempel Smucker

Contest manager: Levi Miller

Sponsor: Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church

Deadline for entries of 1994 contest: June 15, 1994 

the 'Renunciation of War' to 1914



Mennonite nonresistants served in Near East Relief following World War I. The above photo was taken with the Mennonite Relief Commission for War Sufferers administrator Aaron Loucks (back row center) before the group left for Beirut in 1920. Back row persons identified: ____; Fred Swartzentruber, Wayland, Iowa; Aaron Loucks, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; ____; Daniel Stoltzfus, Martinsburg, Pennsylvania; (front) ____; Menno Nussbaum, Orrville, Ohio, Milo Zimmerman, Harper, Kansas; _____. Four other people are on the photo but not identified: Roy Kaufman, West Liberty, Ohio; Roy Bender, Springs, Pennsylvania; Martin Weaver, Newton, Kansas; and Roy Myers, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, MCC, Menno Nussbaum Collection

ans of Christian pacifism.

Having said that, I must admit that I am not a historian and so am not competent to evaluate many details of Professor Brock's research or the reliability of his interpretations of particular events, movements or figures! Nevertheless, I am confident that my judgment of the overall worth of these books is correct. Others competent as historians have said as much.²

I am most acquainted with areas such as Anabaptist and Mennonite history and thought and the "Holy Experiment" by Quakers governing Pennsylvania during the Colonial period. Here, I was repeatedly impressed by Brock's sure-footed presentation of materials and his informed and fair interpretations. At many points his

narrative grows out of his own extensive research in primary materials. Also, in the areas with which I am familiar, he does not fail to draw on the significant secondary literature.

Brock frequently offers judicious, and brief, opinions on issues being debated in the scholarly literature, but he never turns his account into a polemic on a particular point of historical interpretation. His accounts are full of specific information, quotations, and stories, and often include good summaries about particular movements. The enormous strength of these works is in the combination of rich research, opening to us vast amounts of information, and balanced judgments on particular issues.

What then do these books cover?

Freedom from Violence is of most direct interest to Mennonites, since 15 of 23 chapters deal with the Anabaptist, Mennonite, or Brethren experience. These chapters represent a rich mine for one wishing to understand Mennonite history through the lens of peace commitment, and for one wishing to ponder where we are headed on peace issues in our time. In addition, Professor Brock tells the story of Waldensians and the Czech Brethren, pacifist groups which preceded the Anabaptists, the Polish Anabaptists (off to the side of what Mennonites usually think of as Anabaptist), the "Socinian Compromise," the Nazarenes (central Europe and the Balkans, not America), the Seventh-day Adventists, the Plymouth Brethren, and

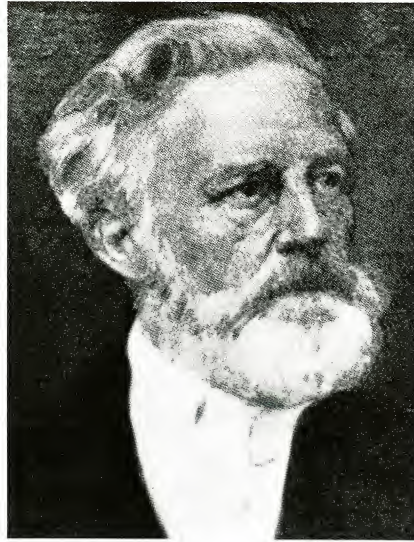
pacifism in Denmark and Sweden. Together with his discussions of the Quakers and of the Disciples of Christ (included in *Freedom From War*), the volume provides rich data for considering the origins, dynamics and (often) demise of pacifist commitment in Christian renewal movements.

On the Quaker experience in its "heartland," England and the United States, *The Quaker Peace Testimony* includes two chapters on the pre-history of Quaker pacifism in England, one on the crystallization of Quaker pacifism, two on early Quaker conscientious objection, one on early Quaker peace plans, and five on the Quaker experience in governing in the colonies (Pennsylvania and Rhode Island). Chapters also treat the renewal of pacifism led by John Woolman which contributed to Quaker departure from government in Pennsylvania, the experience in the American Revolution, the period between the Revolution and the Civil War, the Civil War, Jonathan Dymond, English Quakers in the Crimean War, and the Quaker peace testimony in the late nineteenth century down to the First World War.

In addition, this volume devotes chapters to parts of the Quaker experience (often focused on specific periods) in the West Indies, Canada, Ireland, France, Prussia, Norway, and Australia and New Zealand. It also includes a useful chapter summarizing Quaker views on war taxes (they often took a stronger stand than Mennonites) and one on the Shakers.

Freedom from War also centers attention on England and the United States, with roughly ten of the twenty-one chapters given to developments in these countries. Here the climate was relatively more hospitable to development of politically engaged pacifism than in the non-English-speaking world. It was also here, and especially during the nineteenth century, when voluntary organizations aimed at dealing with various social evils began to proliferate. War was one such evil.

Instead of Christian fellowships having pacifism as a part of their common religious life, organizations developed around a commitment to peace—sometimes however grounded and however defined. The development of peace societies in both countries is well told, as is the struggle within them over how strictly pacifist to be in light of commitments to other



Isaak Brons (1802-1886), deacon of the Mennonite Church at Emden, worked for a unified Germany and founded the Navy Society of East Friesland in 1861. Brock's account of the Dutch, German, and Russian Mennonite experiences warn us that we dare not assume pacifist convictions will be maintained. Photo: Nachfahren von Ysaac Brons and Antje Brons, Hella Brons

moral values too—especially abolition.

The book includes four chapters on Tolstoy and his followers and chapters on nonviolent anarchism in Austria-Hungary, Gandhi in South Africa,³ and the beginning of Christian pacifism in Japan. These welcome chapters break new ground, not having been included (except Tolstoy) in Professor Brock's previous major works on the history of pacifism.

Although much subject matter here was covered in some of Professor Brock's earlier works,⁴ these three books reflect current research and perspectives and organize the materials in a different way.⁵

While the previous works were structured geographically—United States and Europe—the current books are organized, at least essentially, according to different "types" of pacifism. Unfortunately, this typology is made explicit only in the conclusion of *Freedom from War*, although in different words one might see it in the subtitles. The types are "separational" and "integrational."⁶ These two types, and Professor Brock's brief reflections on them,⁷ would be worth a good deal of thought. Although I too see the same basic pattern, it is interesting that

the Quakers have a volume of their own. Perhaps this is a matter simply of size—the Quaker story is a rich and long one. Yet there are ways in which the Quaker story does not fit neatly the typology. Quakers have been more outwardly oriented than the other "sectarian" groups. At the same time, they have been a community of faith, centered around worship, set apart in many ways from others in their societies, ways which distinguish them from much of the "nonsectarian" peace movement.

Professor Brock's account also suggests that the Quakers have been renewed in their peace commitment, sometimes in a sectarian, separational, or withdrawing direction (the chapter on "John Woolman and the Renewal of Pacifism among Pennsylvania Quakers"), and sometimes in a way which drew them into greater engagement with other movements ("The Peace Testimony and Anglo-American Quaker Renewal").

It also seems somewhat odd that the Disciples of Christ are treated under nonsectarian pacifism while another body which also was bent on restoring true Christianity based on the Bible and which also was not thoroughly pacifist (the Plymouth Brethren) is treated under sectarian nonresistance. The reason for including the Disciples in the nonsectarian volume is stated explicitly (p. 136), but the sort of pacifism which Disciples pacifists espoused seems more sectarian than nonsectarian. The account of the Plymouth Brethren leaves me with the impression that there was also pluralism within that body on the issue of pacifism—as was the case with the Disciples—in a way which was dissimilar from the groups which later came to be labeled "historic peace churches."⁸

I do not expect "types" to fit perfectly, of course, and the point is not to criticize Professor Brock's organization. The issue I wish to lift up in pointing both to the Quakers and to other groups which do not fit neatly the sectarian (separational), nonsectarian (integrational) pattern is the need to find a path which somehow wends its way between a rigid separatism and an open ended integrationism. Finding such a path may require finding a new intellectual map, or grid, as well.

The peace convictions of the separational type may become irrele-

vant to the world and eventually fossilized for its members as they move into the wider society economically and socially. This is part of the story of the Dutch and German Mennonites of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. When this acculturation happens, acceptance of the dominant cultural values, including militarism, easily follows. Professor Brock tells this story of the dangers of a strictly separatist and narrowly defined pacifism in an acculturating group very well.

The pacifist commitments of integrationists, on the other hand, run the danger of being cut off from their roots. These roots should be found in the New Testament, in Jesus, and in a community which remembers and lives out of the story of the cross and resurrection, suffering and hope. This community does not feel compelled to offer immediate, pragmatically convincing answers to all international problems.

When these roots are cut it is not a long step from pacifism (as Professor Brock uses it) to a general advocacy of peace and to the abandonment of pacifism. We see this in the inter-war period in the twentieth-century. Within the time frame of these books something of this sort happened in the period preceding the Civil War.

Disillusionment can overwhelm optimistic notions rooted in assumptions about peace and justice through reasonableness, and support for a particular war can quickly result. I would hope that Professor Brock might explore further also the dangers of the "integrational" mode in a new volume on pacifism in the twentieth century.⁹ What are the implications for the survival of *pacifist*, in his sense, commitment in the more integrational "pacifist" communities?

His statistics show that in World War II, among the historically pacifist groups, those which were most integrational were least pacifist.¹⁰ This concern, for me as a Mennonite pacifist, is not alleviated when one looks at the wider peace movement. It is a concern not so much rooted in watching the history of other groups, but in watching the currents within our community now. Seeing Professor Brock address this issue would be even more welcome because it seems evident (though it is subtle) that he favors the integrational model.



Jane Addams (1860-1935): social reformer and peace activist who in 1897 founded the Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago. She believed conflict would be avoided by establishing institutions of social justice. Photo: Swarthmore College Peace Collection

In yet another way, I would welcome Professor Brock going a bit more beyond the strictly historical task. As one working in the field of ethics, I could use a good deal more analysis of matters like the origins and decline of pacifist groups, though there is some. I have found most helpful Professor Brock's brief summary comments on this issue at the end of *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (pp. 479-487) and would have welcomed further elaboration on these issues somewhere in the current trilogy.

These books are an enormous resource for those who wrestle with the contemporary Mennonite experience in North America and who wish to see a vital pacifist commitment retained. Brock's account of the Dutch, German, and Russian Mennonite experiences warn us that we dare not assume these convictions will be maintained.

Although Professor Brock does his job as a historian with amazing competence, on points like these I would have been glad to see him step outside of his role as historian to offer us some additional wisdom from his decades, working in pacifist history. How might we keep pacifist commitment vital in groups historically committed to it—as well as spreading it beyond small

sectarian groups? What are the lessons we Christian pacifist ethicists and church leaders should learn for church life now from these histories? This is not a criticism of these works, but a call for another one.

These questions would seem a worthwhile subject for another article or a small monograph which Professor Brock could well write. His already invaluable service has been to provide the rest of us with historical perspective on the basis of which we can ponder these matters ourselves.

On the matter of structuring the volumes, I would value more extensive introductory and concluding sections for each volume, and some comment on the relationship of these volumes to one another—and to his previous works. Such materials would orient readers to these works and their place in a larger picture. Perhaps they are absent because the books reviewed here were conceived originally as a single large work.¹¹ Perhaps their omission is because Professor Brock is aware of the vast amount of material which could not be included even in these three hefty volumes, and he felt a primary commitment to providing fair and rather detailed historical information (not mainly analysis, interpretation and argumentation). Perhaps his own unmatched knowledge of the field makes such orienting materials seem unnecessary.

These comments do not amount to substantial criticism of these works. In fact, I have only two related regrets about these books. First, our curriculum and my load do not allow space for me to offer a course specifically on them and the history of pacifism which they trace so well. Second, the limited market for such books makes their prices out of reach for most students. I would like to have an excuse to work with them in more depth over an extended period. *✍*

Ted Koontz is associate professor of ethics at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana.

¹ *Freedom From War*, vii.

² See especially the review by Donald Durnbaugh, *Brethren Life and Thought* (Summer, 1992): 195-198].

³ The book's closing date is 1914—Professor Brock has another book on Gandhi entitled *The Mahatma and Mother India*.

Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Dennis Stoesz

What follows is a sampling of acquisitions that have come into the Archives during 1993. They are arranged alphabetically by the name of the collection.

Christian Peacemaker Teams, Chicago, Illinois. Correspondence, minutes, and reports of the activity of this organization from their beginning in 1987 to 1993. Includes minutes of the Steering Committee, and programs of their training-action conferences. 1.25 linear feet. Donor: Eugene Stoltzfus.

Deter, Eunice, 1890-1982, Morrison, Illinois. Correspondence, research materials, legal papers and photographs of Deter's work with the Longenecker family history. The genealogy starts with Ulrich Longenecker, Jr., (1711-1792) who was born in Zurich, Switzerland and died in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Deter first published a book in 1937, and revised it in 1946 and again in 1969. 10 linear inches. Donor: Hazel Hassan, Goshen, Indiana.

Gehman, Dora M. (Shantz), 1897-1993, Elkhart, Indiana. Diaries, photographs, church records, articles, clippings, periodicals, artifacts, 1912-88, reflecting her involvement at Goshen College (1927 graduate), Hesston College, La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, in India, at Prairie Street Mennonite Church, and as a long-time nurse. 10 linear feet. Donor: Mary Mishler, Elkhart, Indiana.

Mennonite Board of Missions, Puerto Rico Media, Aibonito, Puerto Rico. Field records, 1947-72, including correspondence, reports, minutes, transcripts of programs, tapes, photographs, of Mennonite involvement with the radio, TV and pamphlet ministry in Spanish for U.S.A., Mexico, Latin America, Cuba, Spain and Portugal. 12 linear feet. Donor: Lowell Hertzler.

Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania. Records from the Congregational Literature Division, 1950s-91, including their work with *Gospel Herald*, *Christian Living*, *Together*, *Builder*, and Sunday School curriculum. 9 linear feet. Donor: Laurence Martin and Tim Sprinkle.

⁴ The two major previous works covering the period dealt with in these books are *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) and *Pacifism in the United States From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

⁵ It appears that most topics and groups dealt with in Brock's previous publications appear in one way or another in the current volumes. However, it seems that more detail on the U.S. experience appeared in *Pacifism in the United States*. Two chapters in that work are dealt with far more sketchily or not at all in the present volumes—the Moravians and pacifism in the Civil War outside the so-called historic peace churches. At least in these ways, it is good not to regard these new books as entirely superseding the previous ones.

⁶ These types are carried over from a typology he developed at the conclusion of his earlier book, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914*, 472-476. The earlier typology included four additional types, but he correctly states that these two types predominate in the development of pacifism (*Freedom from Violence*, 269).

⁷ *Freedom from Violence*, 269-273.

⁸ The mention of these groups is a reminder that a few other similar Christian renewal movements and denominations had important pacifist elements at the beginning. See John H. Yoder, *Christian Attitudes Toward War, Peace and Revolution* (Elkhart, Ind.: Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries), 299-317. Also, papers at a Goshen College conference on "Pacifism in American Religious Traditions (Other than Historic Peace Churches)," September, 1992.

⁹ Some discussion related to this matter appears in his earlier work *Twentieth Century Pacifism* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1970), Chapter 4.

¹⁰ *Twentieth Century Pacifism*, 184-187.


¹¹ This is my impression from the article "Peter Brock and the History of Pacifism," by Harvey L. Dyck, *Conrad Grebel Review* (Spring, 1989): 147-157. Dyck's article provides an excellent window into the world of the man to whom we owe thanks for these wonderful books and gives us insight into the experiences and commitments which shape Brock's own reading of the history he tells.

Nussbaum, Menno, 1895-?, Orrville, Ohio. Photograph (on page 5) and negative albums, and some memorabilia such as his passport, correspondence, maps, pamphlets, of when he served in Beirut, Syria, with Near East Relief from 1921-22. 3 linear inches. Donor: Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania.

Shetler, Anna (Guengerich), 1873-, Pigeon, Michigan. Writings, correspondence, diary, school records and business ledger, 1866-1974, from three generations from Iowa to Missouri to Michigan. Materials include that of Jacob D. Guengerich (1843-1926) of Iowa who wrote on the origin of Amish Mennonites; Anna Shetler (1873-), Leona Shetler (1908-1929) and Katie Albrecht (1901-). 3 linear +inches. Donor: Anna Marie (Shetler) Stechley, Virginia.

Southwest Mennonite Conference, 1948-, Pasadena, California. Records, 1921-89, which reflect the history of the conference: the secretary minute book, 1921-30, of the Los Angeles church and mission; a photograph album, 1948-63, including the first meeting which organized the conference at Winton, California, on September 6, 1948; and the files of Donald E. Yoder, 1973-89. 2.5 linear feet. Donor: David E. Yoder, Glendale, Arizona.

Yoder, Rhea, 1898-1992, Goshen, Indiana. Photograph album, writings and notebooks, 1913-92, from Yoder's career as a teacher. Materials reflect her student days at Middlebury High School and Goshen College (1923 graduate), her time teaching in Woodstock, India, 1950s, and the stories she wrote for children in her later life. Includes short biography of her life by Paton Yoder. 3 linear inches. Donor: Paton Yoder.

Women's Missionary and Service Commission, Elkhart, Indiana. Historical files, ledgers, minutes and reports, 1932-87, reflecting the work of the executive and district committees. Includes the treasurer's files, 1965-87; the programs of district committees, 1957-67; and the official files of the WMSC of the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference, 1932-80, and South Central Mennonite Conference, 1961-88. 2.5 linear feet. Donor: Marian Hostetler. 

The Preservation of Ohio Mennonite History

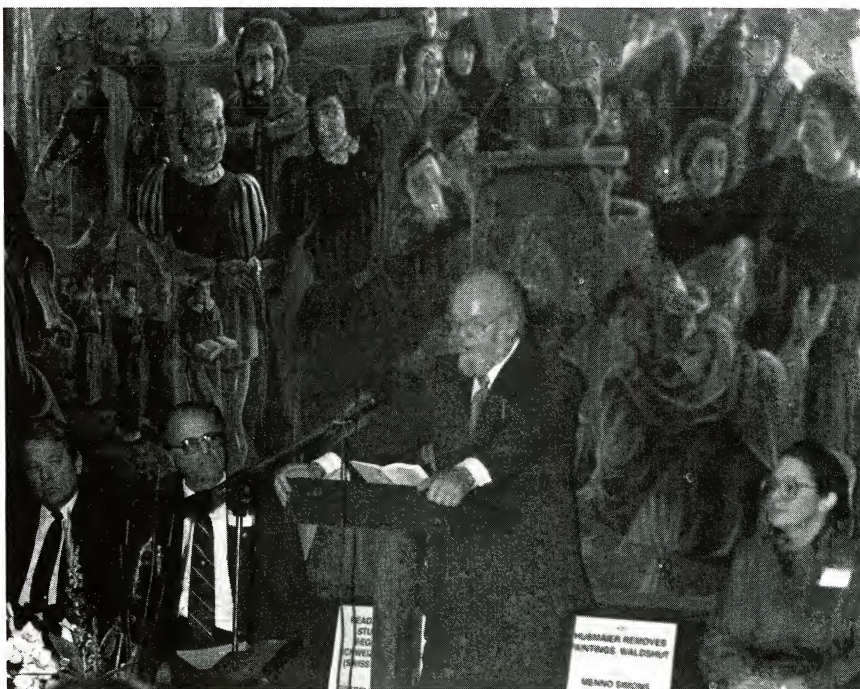
By Gerald J.
Biesecker-Mast

Mennonites have lived in Ohio since around the turn of the nineteenth century, the formative post-Revolution era when the United States was recovering from a depression. Americans were migrating west in large numbers, and the midwestern regions were being turned into states. Beginning with the first migrations from Pennsylvania to Columbiana County in eastern Ohio, Mennonites spread themselves throughout the state in sprawling and complicated communities, with the most populous one centered in the adjoining Wayne and Holmes counties, an area widely recognized as the site of the largest Amish settlement in the world.

There are 13 different Mennonite-related conferences or fellowships represented in Ohio, as well as four main Amish groups, Beachy Amish Mennonites, and numerous unaffiliated Mennonite congregations. The stories of these communities are found both in the written texts produced by historians and novelists as well as in the visual texts produced in museums and artistic displays. In what follows, I survey both types of sources.

Grant Stoltzfus's book, **Mennonites of the Ohio and Eastern Conference**, describes the background and development of Ohio Conference Mennonites until 1968.¹ The book focuses on institutional changes in congregational and conference organizations, including the creation of Sunday schools, mission programs, Bible conferences, and alternative service programs. A new edition of this book is currently being proposed by Wilmer Swope, who plans to incorporate post-1968 historical information, including research by John Umble on extinct Ohio Mennonite churches. A focused description of the development of Sunday schools among Ohio Conference Mennonites can be found in John Umble's **Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools**.²

The best account of Conservative



The Mennonite Information Center in Berlin, Ohio, contains a large dramatic mural painting illustrating aspects of Anabaptist and Mennonite history. Leading in the dedication program on October 10, 1992, along with the artist Heinz Gaugel (standing), were Ralph Regula, David R. Clemens, and Verna Schlabbach. Photo: Abe Mast. The Bargain Hunter

Conference Mennonite activity in Ohio is contained in the seventy-fifth anniversary congregational history of the Pleasant View Mennonite Church in Holmes County.³ This important congregation is the origin of 10 different Conservative Conference churches in Holmes, Wayne, and Madison counties, and is the founding site of the Conservative Amish Mennonite Bible School, now known as Rosedale Bible Institute and currently located west of Columbus. The history of Rosedale Bible Institute is told in **We Beheld His Glory: Rosedale Bible Institute, the First Forty Years: 1952-1992** (reviewed in **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**, January 1993).⁴ This book contains both interesting stories about the people involved with the Institute and a chronological history of the institution.

Elmer Yoder has written about the Mennonites in Stark County in several

books. One of his most popular is a book he co-authored with Paton Yoder, **The Hartville Amish and Mennonite Story**.⁵ This book covers the history of the Amish and Mennonites in Hartville from 1905 to 1980. In another book, **Sixty Years at Maple Grove**, Yoder focuses on the experiences of Conservative Conference Mennonites in the Hartville area from the standpoint of events at Maple Grove, the congregation of origin for a considerable number of Stark County conservative Mennonite churches, including many nonconference congregations.⁶ In a book entitled **From Das Buchenland to the Beech**, Yoder documents the congregational history of Beech Mennonite Church, an Ohio Conference congregation.⁷ Here Yoder explores the transition from Amish to Amish Mennonite to Mennonite of the 1822 Amish settlement at Louisville.

Another historian of Ohio Mennonite congregations is James O. Lehman, director of libraries at Eastern Mennonite College. Lehman has written about seven different congregations: Sonnenberg and Salem in Kidron, Crown Hill in Rittman, Pike in Elida, Oak Grove in Smithville, Longenecker in Winesburg, and Bethel in West Liberty. In a recent review of these books, Lee Snyder has written that Lehman's histories recount history as "a kind of confession or expiation" and reflect "Lehman's passionate belief that God works with his people in spite of their weaknesses."⁸ The book on Sonnenberg is a particularly valuable source on the unique history of the Swiss Mennonites who migrated to the Kidron area directly from Berne, Switzerland, in 1819.

Of the many writers who have described the history and experiences of Holmes County Mennonites, four deserve particular mention: Leroy Beachy, Stan Kaufman, Levi Miller, and Erv Schlabach. Leroy Beachy is a Beachy Amish historian who has done extensive research on the history of the Amish in Holmes County, including a study of Amish cemeteries entitled, **The Cemetery Directory of the Amish Community**. His account of the Amish settlement of Holmes County appeared in a recent book published by the German Culture Museum entitled **Amish in Eastern Ohio**.⁹

Beachy is currently working on a book-length narrative history of the Amish in both Europe and the United States in which he challenges the widely held assumption that the Amish were a schism from the Mennonites led by Jacob Ammann. Beachy posits instead that the Amish were a renewal movement influenced by Dutch Mennonite teachings to challenge the complacency of the persecution-weary Swiss Brethren.

A former art professor at Eastern Mennonite College, Stanley Kaufman, has gone to great lengths to document the material culture of the Amish and Mennonites in Holmes County. Kaufman, an artist and museum curator who has organized numerous exhibits for the German Culture Museum in Walnut Creek, recently put together a well-received public exhibit for the Canton Art Institute entitled "Traditions and Transitions: Amish and Mennonite Expression in Visual Art."

This exhibit, which appeared in the summer of 1992, was accompanied by



Elmer S. Yoder chairs the Mennonite and Amish Historical Society of Stark County and the Conservative Mennonite Conference Historical Committee. He has also written numerous histories of Ohio Mennonite and Amish churches.

a beautiful catalog edited by Kaufman and published by the Canton Art Institute. The catalog provides an extensive survey of the diverse Mennonite-produced items in the exhibit: fraktur, furniture, quilts, paintings, clothing designs, and ceramics.¹⁰ The exhibit received outstanding reviews in numerous local newspapers, and was unique in its gathering together of both traditional and contemporary Amish-Mennonite artistic works.

One of the better efforts to represent the way of life of the Holmes County Amish is Levi Miller's **Ben's Wayne**, a novel which chronicles the coming of age of a young Amish boy in the 1960s.¹¹ This story exhibits an intimate familiarity with the cultural nuances and linguistic peculiarities of the Amish in Holmes County, from worship styles to farming methods to dating practices. Miller has also written a popular account of the Ohio Amish and Mennonite communities entitled **Our People**, which can be found in the book stands of most Ohio Amish-related tourist attractions.¹² This book synthesizes the major events and concerns of Ohio's different Mennonite groups, from the arrival in Holmes County of Amishman Jonas Stutzman in 1809 to the controversial practice of bundling among the Old Order Amish.

Ervin Schlabach has written a well-

researched history of the Walnut Creek Amish and Mennonites, focusing mainly on events related to the development of the Walnut Creek Mennonite Church, now an Ohio Conference congregation.¹³ Among the interesting accounts in this book are the prophecies of "White Jonas" Stutzman, the mid-nineteenth century Amishman who wore only white and predicted the end of the world; the imprisonment of Samuel Miller, editor of the **Budget**, for publishing a letter opposed to the purchase of war bonds; and the struggle over doctrinal and lifestyle issues between the Walnut Creek Mennonite Church and the Eastern Amish-Mennonite Conference during the mid-1920s, resulting in Lester Hostetler's resignation as pastor.

Numerous Mennonite historical societies and libraries can be found in Ohio. The Mennonite Historical Library (280 W. College Avenue, Bluffton, 45817) in Bluffton College's Musselman Library is a major collection of Anabaptist-Mennonite sources. It particularly focuses on Mennonite groups in eastern and central United States associated with Bluffton College, the nineteenth-century Mennonite migrations from Switzerland, eastern France and southern Germany, family history material for Mennonites of Swiss origin, and materials on pacifism, both Mennonite and non-Mennonite.

According to Ann Hilty, the librarian, the library contains over 17,000 books and includes around 800 different periodical titles. In another room of the Musselman Library are the archival records of Bluffton College, the Central District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church, the Africa Inter-Mennonite Mission, and some Mennonite mutual aid organizations. Howard Raid is archivist. The library is open to researchers weekdays from one to five in the afternoon.

The Ohio Amish Library (4292 SR 39, Millersburg, 44654) is a small but growing collection of Amish and Mennonite sources mostly donated from Amish households in Holmes County. According to Leroy Beachy, the library functions as a place for local Amish people to research their history without needing to travel to distant historical libraries in Bluffton or Goshen. The 400-volume library includes a complete set of Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, a

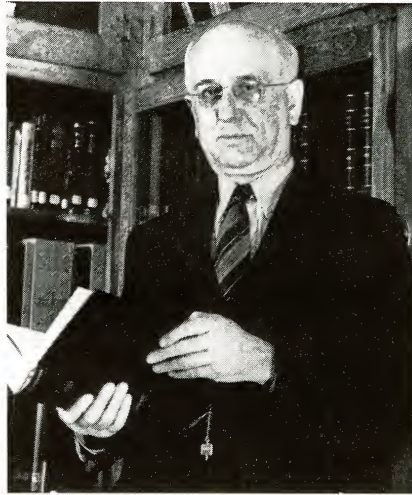
nearly complete set of **Mennonite Quarterly Review**, and many genealogy books.

The eight-member library board publishes an annual periodical, **Heritage Review**, and is presently working on a prose translation into English of the **Ausbund**, the Anabaptist book of martyr songs used by the Amish in their worship. The library is currently located in the Kline Lumber building between Berlin and Walnut Creek along Route 39, although the library board is hoping to eventually relocate to a new facility in the future. Researchers may visit by appointment with librarian Paul Kline at the above address.

The German Culture Museum (Olde Pump St., Walnut Creek, 44687) was opened in 1982 by the Heritage Preservation Committee of Berlin. It has assembled annual exhibitions of artifacts gathered from Ohio's Germanic cultures, including such groups as the Moravians, the Church of the Brethren, the Reformed Church, as well as the Amish and Mennonites. The museum gathers materials from the four-county area of Wayne, Holmes, Tuscarawas, and Stark counties for its exhibits and permanent collections. To date the museum has sponsored numerous seminars and published three illustrated books on Ohio German material culture: **Germanic Folk Culture in Eastern Ohio**, **Moravians in Ohio**, and **Amish in Ohio**. These books and their accompanying exhibits were largely the work of former museum curator Stanley Kaufman and were supported through grants by the Ohio Arts Council, the Ohio Humanities Council, and the Knight Foundation.

The Mennonite Information Center (5798 County Rd. 77, P.O. Box 324, Berlin, 44610) interprets Mennonite, Amish, and Hutterite history to visitors throughout the year. The center has become popular for its 265-foot cyclorama, **Behalt**, a dramatic and colorful painting which illustrates the history of Anabaptist groups from 1525 to the present.

The artist, Heinz Gaugel, finished the painting in 1992, and is presently working on a fresco for the exterior of the Center. While much of the center is designed for tourists, Mennonite and Amish historians should find this cyclorama a moving tribute to their heritage. Recently named director of the center is Dorothy Brenneman of



Historian C. Henry Smith in the Mennonite Historical Library which he founded at Bluffton College. Current librarian is Ann Hilty and archivist is Howard Raid. Photo ca. 1944: Bluffton College Archives

Orrville. The Mennonite Information Center is open year round from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Monday through Saturday.

The history of the Sonnenberg Mennonite settlement in present day Kidron is being preserved by the Kidron Community Historical Society (P.O. Box 14, Kidron, 44636). Founded in 1979, and presently chaired by Wayne Liechty, the Society collects cultural artifacts relevant to the local Swiss Mennonite heritage, publishes a biannual newsletter for its membership, and prepares exhibits for the Sonnenberg Heritage Display located in the First National Bank basement. Celia Lehman and Ruth Moser, the acquisition committee for the society, are largely responsible for the development of the society's growing collection, which is notable for its Swiss-influenced fraktur drawings, traditional quilts, and Mennonite-crafted furniture. The seven-member board is presently planning to open the Kidron-Sonnenberg Heritage Center in 1994. This center will include a genealogical library for researchers of family history as well as a museum which will exhibit pieces of the society's growing collection of Swiss Mennonite material culture.

Of interest to Mennonite historians will be the 1870s Mennonite log home located at the [Erie] Sauder Farm and Craft Village (State Rt. 2, P.O. Box 325, Archbold, 43502). The village includes many other cabins and shops built

over 100 years ago by German settlers of northwest Ohio. The village is open April 21 to October 31 on Monday through Saturday, 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m., and Sunday afternoon from 1:30 to 5.

The historical committees of two Mennonite conferences are active in Ohio. The Ohio Conference Historical Committee meets three times a year and is chaired by Wilmer Swope (785 Beeson Mill Rd., Leetonia, 44431). It is currently devoting most of its energy to the new edition of Stolzhus's Ohio Conference history. The archives of the Ohio Conference are deposited at Goshen in the Archives of the Mennonite Church (1700 South Main St., Goshen, IN 46526).

The president of the Conservative Mennonite Conference Historical Committee is Elmer Yoder (3511 Edison St. NE, Hartville, 44632) and the archivist is David I. Miller (9910 Rosedale Milford Center Rd., Irwin, OH 43029). Yoder has noted the considerable difficulty the committee experiences in maintaining a comprehensive archive of Conservative Conference papers and congregational material, due to the conference being spread across the continent. Still, one can find in the archives at Rosedale Bible Institute (2270 Rosedale Rd., Irwin, 43029) complete collections of conference periodicals such as the **Brotherhood Beacon**, many congregational materials, and official papers from the work of conference committees. The historical committee is currently working to establish a card file of all its holdings, including materials not located in Rosedale.

Yoder also chairs the Stark County Mennonite and Amish Historical Society (3511 Edison St. NE, Hartville, 44632), a regional association devoted to gathering and publishing material about Stark County Mennonites and Amish. The committee meets four times a year in various settings and is currently working to gather oral history about some of the non-conference Mennonite and Amish groups in the area. In fact, the committee frequently meets at local Mennonite churches where church members are invited to come and recite for the committee their memories of congregational and community history. *L*

Gerald Biesecker-Mast is completing a doctoral study on the rhetorical uses of Anabaptism at the University of Pittsburgh.

¹ Grant Stoltzfus, *Mennonites of the Ohio and Eastern Conference* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1969).

² John Umble, *Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1941).

³ *Pleasant View Mennonite Church, 75th Anniversary: 1912-1987* (Sugar Creek, OH: Schlabach Printers, 1987).

⁴ Jewel Showalter and Elmer Yoder, *We Beheld His Glory: Rosedale Bible Institute, the First Forty Years: 1952-1992* (Irwin: Rosedale Bible Institute, 1992).

⁵ Elmer S. Yoder, *The Hartville Amish and Mennonite Story* (Hartville: The Knowles Press, 1980).

⁶ Elmer S. Yoder, *Sixty Years at Maple Grove* (Hartville: Diakonia Ministries, 1982).

⁷ Elmer S. Yoder, *From 'Das*

Buchenland' to 'The Beech' (Louisville: Beech Mennonite Church, 1991).

⁸ Lee Snyder, "James O. Lehman and Congregational Histories." *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* (January, 1991): 6-7.

⁹ Stanley Kaufman with Leroy Beachy, *Amish in Eastern Ohio* (Walnut Creek: German Culture Museum, 1990).

¹⁰ *Traditions and Transitions: Amish and Mennonite Expression in Visual Art* (Canton: Canton Art Institute, 1992).

¹¹ Levi Miller, *Ben's Wayne* (Intercourse: Good Books, 1989).

¹² Levi Miller, *Our People: The Amish and Mennonites of Ohio* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1992).

¹³ Ervin Schlabach, *The Amish and Mennonites at Walnut Creek* (Sugar Creek: Schlabach Printers, 1981).

Book Reviews

The Mennonite Starter Kit. Craig Haas and Steve Nolt. Intercourse: Good Books, 1993. Pp. 91. \$5.95.

This book is delightful humor wrapped in a joke of false pretense. Craig Haas and Steve Nolt ostensibly write for the "New Mennonite" who, after taking the relatively painless step of joining a Mennonite church, is about to discover "just how hard it is to really become a Mennonite."

In these pages, one surmises, is the droll fruit of Haas' own induction into the Mennonite world, a process he seems to have survived with his humorous faculties intact, perhaps even enhanced. (Inside joke to Craig Haas: as a reviewer with a sadistic streak, I must tell you this book is "a good read.")

Yet Haas and Nolt are certain to produce the most chuckles among those they mercilessly but lovingly needle: people like Nolt. Here is a young but serious historian, when he's being serious, who "grew up Mennonite." Mennonite peoplehood and heritage, lifestyle, religious activities, leaders, institutions and publications all come in for good-natured irreverence through parodies, imaginatively captioned pictures, and quiz questions to which there apparently is no one correct answer. At least none is provided for the genuinely perplexed reader who might be looking for a hint of hard data.

I've looked through the "Mennonite Trading Cards" at the back of the book and am ready to swap my 1993 June Alliman Yoder, Harold S. Bender, and Phyllis Driver Diller (who briefly attended Bluffton College in the late 1930s), for Barry Bonds' rookie card straight up. Any takers?

"You have to find humor to be able to function during months of depression like those we've suffered here," recently commented a member of radio comedy troupe in Sarajevo. "Without this, we'd all end up in an asylum." Before you check into your neighborhood mental health clinic, try

The Mennonite Starter Kit.

J. Robert Charles
Goshen, Indiana

Amish, Brethren in Christ and Mennonites in Ohio

Mennonite Conferences	Congregations	Members
Central District (General Conference)	11	2,608
Church of God in Christ, Mennonite	2	242
Conservative Mennonite Conference	22	2,456
Conservative Mennonite Fellowship	1	26
Evangelical Mennonite Church	4	1,270
Fellowship Churches	5	204
Mennonite Christian Fellowship	1	50
Mid-West Mennonite Fellowship	4	352
Ohio Conference of the Mennonite Church	73	10,405
Old Order: Ohio and Indiana, Groffdale, Stauffer	5	356
Virginia Mennonite Conference	2	164
Unaffiliated Congregations	13	1,032
Wisler Mennonites	4	375
	-3*	-501*
<i>Total Mennonites</i>	<i>134</i>	<i>18,308</i>
Amish Churches	Districts	Members
Andy Weaver	34	2,278
New Order	31	2,142
Old Order	150	10,054
Swartzentruber	26	1,742
Other	5	335
<i>Total Amish</i>	<i>246</i>	<i>16,551</i>
Other Anabaptist-Related Churches	Congregations	Members
Beachy Amish	19	1,230
Brethren In Christ	13	734
<i>Total Mennonite-Related</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>1,964</i>
<i>Mennonite, Amish, and Brethren in Christ</i>	<i>412</i>	<i>36,823</i>

*Dual-affiliated (GC and MC). Statistics based on *Family Life*, April, 1992; James Horsch, *Mennonite Yearbook*, 1993; Ben J. Raber, *The New American Almanac*, 1993; Ervin Gingerich, *Ohio Amish Directory*, 1988; Stephen Scott, *The People's Place*.

The Best Introductory Mennonite Text Available

By Jonathan Showalter

An Introduction to Mennonite History, Third Edition. Cornelius J. Dyck. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1993. Pp. 488. \$16.95.

This latest edition of C.J. Dyck's **Introduction to Mennonite History** provides a welcome update to a work which is already a classic in its category.

Since it was first published in 1967, Dyck's book has been the most accessible and thorough introduction available to a reader seeking an overview of Anabaptist and Mennonite history. Although the quantity of secondary sources at the disposal of a serious student is quite large, relatively few texts survey the broader story. The first edition of Dyck's **Introduction**, which went through nine printings, sold 22,000 copies. This edition has already acquainted a generation of readers with Anabaptists and Mennonites.

A second edition was released in 1981 and sold another 13,000 copies in six printings. A major improvement was the addition of more than 100 illustrations, many of which were photographs from the Anabaptist Heritage Collection of Jan Gleysteen.

The latest edition includes extensive editorial fine-tuning and nuancing, in addition to updated maps and illustrations. For example "Waldensian laypersons" replace "laymen," active voice occasionally replaces passive, and Master Eckhart and John Tauler go from "great importance" in the development of Luther's thought to "importance." Other changes reflect a seemingly irenic attempt to withhold judgement where it is not required. Thus where the first editions refer to Pope John 23 as "a wicked man [who] had reportedly been a pirate before his ordination," the new edition deletes the description altogether.

Another small but more significant change is Dyck's promotion from editor to author. In the first edition he takes credit for writing only six of twenty-one chapters; the rest were drafted by eight other scholars. The preface to the third edition still

acknowledges the original contributors, and Dyck still refers to himself as editor, but the cover and title page do not use the label, and the end of the book includes a description of "The Author."

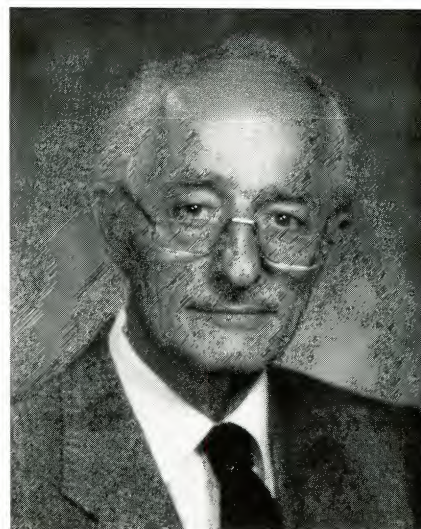
The first major revision appears in chapter 2. Where the first two versions moved directly to "Anabaptist Origins in Switzerland," and focused on the tensions between Zwingli and the Grebel circle, the third edition opens with a three-page summary of the development of the "Bender School," its goals, and the fate of its conclusions at the hands of a new generation of revisionists. Dyck interacts with some of the fresh scholarship.

He notes recent attempts to see Karlstadt as the father of Anabaptism. He raises, and leaves unresolved, the question of how much contact the Grebel circle had with Müntzer. He acknowledges the possibility that the Grebel circle may have envisioned a "non-separatist territorial church" as late as 1525.

But the major shifts in Anabaptist historiography leave their mark most clearly in chapter 8. In the first two editions it was titled "A Summary of the Anabaptist Vision," and followed closely the contours of Bender's original statement. The new title is "This they believed," and surveys not only a wide variety of positions on the sixteenth-century Anabaptist continuum, but also the series of attempts since then to identify an "Anabaptist essence."

While revisions of chapters two and eight were undoubtedly necessary in a new edition, the new versions illustrate the difficulty in the 1990s of generalizing about Anabaptists. In 1967, when the vision of the Bender school was still relatively dominant, Dyck could confidently state that the Anabaptists agreed on many points with "the other Protestants," and wished only to complete the process of reformation and purification which the others had begun and failed to finish."

Twenty-five years later there is no similarly dominant, unifying vision of Anabaptism. Hence, Dyck observes that "most Anabaptists, in most places, most of the time, believed in the 'Trinity.' The difference in tone is



Cornelius J. Dyck: From history to historiography.

striking, and reflects the climate of current scholarship. While there are more pieces to the puzzle in 1993, no one has yet put them together as neatly or convincingly as Bender did with the pieces available in his generation.

The major textual revisions are the strength of the new edition, but they are also its weakness. Most readers who pick up a survey are not looking for historiographical essays. Competing versions of a story are only confusing when the story's outline is itself still unfamiliar. For example, beginners will have a hard time thinking clearly about the meaning of Schleithem (p.39) before they know what happened there (p. 55). The problem, of course, is that writing Anabaptist history is not as simple as it once seemed, and Dyck evidently wants his readers, even beginners, to appreciate that.

No survey will satisfy every specialist in the field. But then specialists are not the intended audience. And at least until some brave scholar ventures a new synthesis, Dyck's **Introduction** will remain what it has been for 25 years: the best introductory text available. *JS*

Jonathan Showalter of Plain City, Ohio, teaches at Rosedale Bible Institute.

If I Were Practicing More Humility

By Paton Yoder

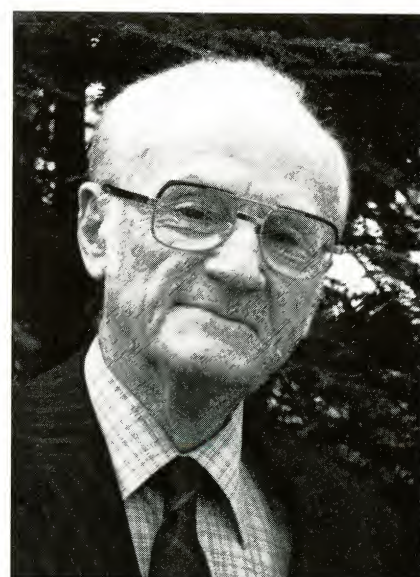
Please be assured that this is a pleasant experience for me. I want to thank the Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society and the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church for this recognition. But I'm not sure that such honor should come to one for doing what was about the most delightful undertaking of his entire life. (Confidentially there were some moments of considerable frustration, which I have all but forgotten.)

One does not write books that get published without help from others nor without the acceptance of those who are knowledgeable in the same field, nor without the acceptance of publishers. But I think I shall refrain from trying to name all such. The list would be too long.

But now let's face it. There is a touch of irony in the proceedings of the moment. If the organizations responsible for this conference were to practice traditional Amish humility, they would not have chosen to lift me up for public recognition in this way, nor the others honored here this evening. And if I were practicing traditional Amish humility I would not have come here to receive this worldly expression of honor.

I understand that there will be a simulation tomorrow afternoon. May I anticipate the use of this device by closing with a quote from the foreword of a book written by Amish Bishop David A. Troyer. His name is on the list of those ministers who attended that ill-fated ministers' conference of 1865. One of you will assume his identity in tomorrow's simulation. This evening, for a moment, I would like to assume his identity. He wrote:

"I have written this [book of] admonitions to you, my dearly beloved children, in my great poverty and weakness with a very insignificant gift which I have unworthily received from God, because of my fatherly duty for your eternal welfare. And since I am a very poor, incompetent writer, I suppose that my thick-witted writing will not be found entirely without fault."



On October 14, 1993, historians Paton Yoder (left) and Willard H. Smith (right) were honored at a dinner opening a three-day Amish Mennonite tri-centennial conference at Metamora, Illinois. Paton Yoder was recognized for his research and publication of the nineteenth century Amish documents, especially the *Diener Versammlungen* ministers' meetings, culminating in *Tradition and Transition: Amish Mennonites and Old Order Amish 1800-1900* (Herald Press, 1991). Willard H. Smith, a native son of the Illinois Amish Mennonites, wrote the comprehensive history of his people in *Mennonites in Illinois* (Herald Press, 1983). Yoder and Smith were presented by Levi Miller and Hazel Haasen, and because their responses were more interesting than the presentations, we print them here.

My Amish Mennonite Heritage

By Willard H. Smith

First I want to thank your committee for this honor. I am glad to participate in this conference. I know of no more appropriate place to receive the honor than here at Partridge, the first Amish congregation to be founded and organized west of Ohio, of which my great grandfather, Christian (Schmidt) Smith was a part.

Last May when Gordon Oyer informed me of the honor I stated in my reply that the "older I get the more I appreciate my Amish-Mennonite heritage as it developed in Illinois." Let me explain why I appreciate my Amish-Mennonite heritage as it developed in Illinois. Ninety-three years ago tomorrow (October 15, 1900) I was born one-half mile south of the Roanoke church, which grew largely out of the Partridge congregation.

In my early teens I joined the Roanoke congregation, and have been

satisfied ever since with this denominational home. One reason for this satisfaction was the fact that much emphasis was put on living the good life, the life of the good neighbor, and not so much on theological abstractions and niceties.

One of our ministers, Christian S. Schertz, who lived across the road from us had little formal education but much common sense. I remember hearing him say to me, "Willard, we ought to do as much good as we can, to as many people as possible, as long as we can." Bishop Peter Zehr of Deer Creek and East Bend at Fisher thought enough of this philosophy that he had it printed on cards to hand out to people declaring, "I expect to travel through this world but once, any good therefore that I can do, or any kindness I may be able to show anyone, let me do it now. I shall not pass this way again."

My uncle, C. Henry Smith, had similar experiences and support. He is sometimes referred to as the first Mennonite to get a Ph.D. and remain in the Mennonite Church. It was his father and my grandfather, Bishop

John Smith, who made this broadening remark at the Illinois Mennonite Conference in 1893, "It matters not what we are called, Amish or Mennonite, or any other name. Let the heart be right so that we may work to the upbuilding of the church in a way that will stand before God." Bishop Smith made this statement long before the Amish Mennonites and the Mennonites merged in Illinois in 1920, thus forming the present Illinois Mennonite Conference.

I gather from my reading that assurance of salvation caused many Amish some problems at times. My father, John J. Smith, who often served as chorister, and other song leaders frequently led us in songs in Sunday school and church services which emphasized the certainty of the believer's faith — songs like "Blessed Assurance," "How Firm a Foundation," and many others.

In conclusion, I should like to add something that I have been wanting to say for over seventy years. After World War I and then again after World War II, I felt like expressing my appreciation to the American government and people for the way in which the large majority treated conscientious objectors to war. I say this fully aware of the fact that a few COs were not treated fairly and did spend time in prison. I say this also despite the fact that in our history too many mistakes were made in dealing with Afro-Americans, Native Americans and others.

But another fact should be brought forward in this connection: there are more American embassies and consulates than of any other country that are filled to overflowing with applicants who are waiting to come to this land of freedom. So there must be and are reasons why so many want to come here. Let us therefore thank God that your ancestors and mine have been welcomed to the USA and that by and large, despite some serious flaws, relationships have been good, and we can say with the psalmist (Psalms 16:6), "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea I have a goodly heritage." *U*

News and Notes

Levi Miller has resigned as director of the Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church in order to accept an appointment as director of the Congregational Literature Division of Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale, Pennsylvania. He will continue with the Historical Committee on a half-time basis until a replacement is secured. Suggestions or candidates for director of the Historical Committee should be addressed to the Committee's chair, Steven Reschly, 1202 Melrose Avenue, Iowa City, IA 52246; Telephone 319-354-1671.

Anabaptist Vision Conferences are planned for 1994 at Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania June 13-16 and at Goshen College in Indiana October 14-17. The Elizabethtown meeting, "Whither the Anabaptist Vision?" has speakers Nadine Pence Front, Phyllis Pellman Good, Stanley Hauerwas, Albert Keim, John D. Roth, and Paul Toews. The Goshen meeting, "Anabaptist Vision(s) in the Twentieth Century," is sponsored by the "Life and Times of Harold S. Bender" project under the Mennonite Historical Society. A program will be available by early Spring.

Correction:

Barbara Sherk of Waterloo, Ontario, was incorrectly identified as Barbara Shantz on page 16, October, 1993, **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**. This mistaken

identity comes from a listing in Harry Weber's **Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois 1829-1929** (1931, page 290). An excellent profile of Barbara Sherk appears in **Ontario Mennonite History**, "Let Me introduce to You to Barbara Sherk..." by Carol Penner (October, 1993, page 12).

Wilmer Swope, Ohio Conference historian, and Larry Rohrer, pastor of Midway Mennonite Church in North Lima, Ohio, led a worship service on September 26 in the 1825 Harmony (Pennsylvania) Meetinghouse. The congregation at this oldest Mennonite meetinghouse west of the Alleghenies was begun by Franconia Mennonites who bought land from George Rapp's

communal Harmonists in 1815. The congregation died out in 1902, but the property is maintained by a local museum group. During the nineteenth century, the congregation had many ties to the Columbiana, Ohio, Mennonite settlement.

The Mennonite, published in Philadelphia from 1885 to 1933, is among the 21 additional titles now available on microfilm through the efforts of North American Mennonite Archivists and Librarians (NAMAL) and the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College. A listing and prices of Mennonite serials is available from ATLA, Preservation Programs, 820 Church Street, Suite 300, Evanston, IL 60201. Telephone 708-869-7788 or FAX 708-869-8513.

John S. Oyer was given a recognition dinner on November 9 by the Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen, Indiana, for his 26 years of service as editor of the **Mennonite Quarterly Review**. The journal's October, 1993, issue contained numerous tributes to the distinguished service of Oyer. The **Mennonite Quarterly Review**, founded by Harold S. Bender in 1927, is sponsored by Goshen College and Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary.

The Delaware Mennonite Historical Association was founded this past summer with one of its main projects to restore the Valentine Bender house which could become a heritage center for this historic Conservative Amish Mennonite community. A steering committee is led by chair John J. Yoder (Box 238, Greenwood, DE 19950) and secretary Clayton L. Swartzentruber (201 Maple Ave., Harleysville, PA 19438). The idea originally came out of the Bender family reunion, but the group plans to embrace all Delaware Mennonite history going back to the 1662 failed colony of the Dutch Mennonite Pieter Cornelius Plockhoy.

Samuel L. Horst of Eastern Mennonite College contributed an article on the Mennonites for the four-volume **Encyclopedia of the Confederacy** (Simon and Schuster).


Al Yoder of Goshen, Indiana, spoke on the 100-year history of the Silverwood Mennonite Church at the Fall meeting of the Michiana Anabaptist Historians, October 23. *U*





Foresingers Sing Spiritual Songs, Hymns and Chorales

*The Foresingers with members from the Lancaster and Franconia Conferences sang from the 1804 Lancaster Mennonite songbook, **Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch**, at the Mennonite Church Historical Association meeting in Philadelphia on July 29, 1993. These selections became the core of a musical drama called "Menno Heirs" which the singers then presented at various meetinghouses in Pennsylvania during the fall and winter. Singers include Dennis Kauffman, Glenn Lehman, Nancy Hess, Henry Derstine, Lynn Sommer, Gretchen Thomas, David Sauder, Sandi Harnish, David J. Rempel Smucker, and Joel Alderfer.*

Writer John L. Ruth of Harleysville attended two of their performances and made these comments: "This is an existential reaching backward toward forgotten territory of the Mennonite spirit and an attempt to relive a part of our spiritual journey. A variety of spiritual songs, hymns and chorales are mixed with a dramatic narrative. Even the Pennsylvania Dutch zither makes it into the program. Director Glenn Lehman disclaims absolute documentary accuracy in favor of acknowledging the music's spiritual resources which are still residual in the Mennonite memory." Ruth noted that people who attended these performances "expressed an uncanny connection with the spiritual impulses they wish they had not forgotten." 

Directory of Historians and Committees

Since 1992, **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** has published an annual directory of "Mennonite and Related Church Historians and Committees." This directory will appear in the April, 1994, issue.

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Women Helping Somewhere: Chicago Home Mission 1893-1920

By Tammy Peters

Previous histories of the Mennonite Church's Chicago Home Mission were primarily testimonial accounts, or focused on theological and organizational issues which described the roles of men—pastors and administrators—in Chicago. But women, who were instructed to be silent, also found voices and new opportunities in the 'evangelicalized' Mennonite Church. They were being given places—and in a few cases, making places—for themselves within the mission movement.

The first Mennonite mission was an experiment which borrowed programs and ideas from other social and evangelical institutional models in the city and allowed women a place in its work. I will describe how women reacted to their new urban environment and its inhabitants, and show that women were agents who shaped the mission work and the mission itself as newly empowered members of the Mennonite Church.

Between 1890 and 1920 the Mennonite Church began reaching out into mission activities. The Chicago Home Mission is an early example of the new opportunities and responsibilities given to Mennonite men and women. The private writings of Lina Zook Ressler, Clara Eby Steiner and Amanda Eby Leaman reveal the significant role women played in the early mission movement. The mission goal was to cultivate and convert lost souls, and women, who practiced and preached Christian living, were believed to be particularly equipped for such a task. Through their new



Primary department of the Mission Sewing School at the Chicago Home Mission with teacher (far right) Lina Zook. "Women were agents who shaped the mission work and the mission itself as newly empowered members of the Mennonite Church." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, J.A. and Lina Zook Ressler Collection

vocation in a foreign urban environment they gained experience and empowerment which allowed them to grow spiritually and intellectually and helped them in further work at the mission and in other Church efforts.

In the late nineteenth century the Mennonite Church was a church in transition. For hundreds of years Mennonites had remained "a people apart," but by 1900 the church was branching out into missions at home and abroad. Mission efforts were led by a new generation which adopted the ideologies and methods of the larger American social and evangelical Protestant movements of the day.

The Chicago Home Mission, located in a former saloon at 145 West 18th Street in Chicago, opened on December 3, 1893. The Church did not give its full support to this venture into the world, but young Mennonite men and women answered the mission call, left their homes on the farm and entered the 'wicked' city.¹

Three women, Lina Zook Ressler, Clara Eby Steiner and Amanda Eby Leaman, are representative of the women who volunteered and worked at the Chicago Home Mission between 1894 and 1920. They were part of the first generation of Mennonite missionaries. Their work and their reflections upon their work reveal the Americanization of the Mennonite Church—a church which was moving from separatism to an adaptation of American evangelicalism, from a rural to an urban setting, and for women, from silence to limited leadership. Their letters and journals offer insight into their experiences, and suggest a new history of Mennonite women in missions.

Lina, Clara and Amanda all became prominent in the Mennonite Church

after their start in the mission. They were from small farming communities that migrated from Pennsylvania to Ohio in the first half of the nineteenth century. Ohio congregations were active pioneers in the awakening of the Mennonite Church in Sunday schools and missions between 1875 and 1900.

Lina Zook Ressler (1869-1948) from Sterling, in Wayne County, was at the mission from 1896-1900. After her experience in Chicago she taught at Elkhart Institute in Elkhart, Indiana, and served with her husband in India for five years. Lina was a prolific writer who published many articles, coedited a book and compiled four volumes of poetry and stories for children.

Clara Eby Steiner (1873-1929) and Amanda Eby Leaman (1876-1938) were sisters from Columbus Grove, in Putnam County. Clara served at the mission with her husband Menno Simons (M.S.) Steiner, the mission's founder and first superintendent, between 1894 and 1895. After her husband's death in 1911 she founded the Mennonite Woman's Missionary Society, a national organization for women.

Amanda Eby Leaman was a public school teacher who met her husband, A. Hershey (A.H.) Leaman, during several short terms at the mission. She lived at the mission permanently after their marriage in 1902 and until 1920.

These early Mennonite missionaries joined the company of larger reform movements of the day. Between 1890 and 1920 many women and men responded to the ills of modern industrial America. Victorian culture and the cult of true womanhood instructed women "to cultivate piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity." The morally superior woman

was to stay within her sphere to be the keeper of the home and the nurturing care giver for her children.

During the nineteenth century, however, women's sphere enlarged to include work concerned with eliminating social immoralities; women crusaded for abolition and suffrage, and proselytized in missions. At the close of the nineteenth century women came out in even larger numbers to join charitable organizations and work for reform. Most of these efforts were based on Christian morality and stewardship, and women, who represented the Christian ideal, were allowed an important place in the work of these organizations, focusing their efforts on saving the family and children. Theirs became the task of "enlarged housekeeping," in the words of Frances Willard, leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Mennonite women had similar roles in the mission.²

The Mennonite mission had no denominational model of its own to emulate, so it borrowed ideas from the Progressive movement and the Social Gospel movement. For example, alcohol consumption and abuse was a large issue in the city church. During this period temperance was one of the many housekeeping chores attended to by women in America. Alcohol was seen as a threat to home and society. The WCTU was, according to Ruth Bordin, the "first women's mass movement."

Frances Willard took advantage of the large networks of women within church missionary societies to mobilize almost every area in the country. There is no mention of the women attending a WCTU or Anti-Saloon League meeting, but lectures were given in the mission on temperance,

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Microfilms of Volumes I-L of the **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

and Amanda attended a meeting at the First Regiment Armory. The "speakers are very hopeful of a saloonless country before many more years pass," she reported. "The liquor traffic is doomed."³

The Social Gospel movement, which promoted humanitarian service based on Christian law, presented the Mennonites with one theological and institutional paradigm. C. Howard Hopkins describes the movement as a "reaction of Protestantism—markedly stimulated by socialism—to the ethics and practices of capitalism as brought to point in the industrial situation." Among the dominant ideas of the movement were a solidaristic view of society, ethical living based on the life of Jesus, and the concept of social salvation through the renovation of one's environment. Like the Progressive movement, it believed in the "ultimate goodness of America."⁴

The concrete manifestations of the Social Gospel were the institutionalized church and the religious social settlement. Jane Addams' Hull House, probably the most famous settlement, did not challenge the woman's sphere, but it did offer women opportunity and a chance to create "new areas of expertise." Hull House offered practical care and education for women and children, establishing child care, kindergartens, and classes in homemaking, cooking, sewing and shopping. Hull House and the Juvenile Court were located very close to the mission when it was on West 18th Street. One finds in the details of their work that the Mennonite mission borrowed certain methods and ideas from the settlement example.⁵

Like Hull House, the mission had a kindergarten, provided food, clothing and medicine for the poor, and in a few cases found jobs for people. The two ideological principles of the Social Gospel—believed and practiced by Jane Addams and many others—which Mennonites seem to have adopted most completely were that one's environment was important to one's development, and that one's work should be in the spirit of Jesus. The mission's primary focus was still to convert the city dwellers, but as Lina wrote home to her sisters, not all of their work needed to be "churchy." She reiterated what one of her male co-workers had stated, that some people had "too much church," and needed "more of Christ." Lina refined this



M. Amanda Eby Leaman and Clara D. Eby Steiner in 1924. "Women from rural Mennonite communities were not only allowed to experience city life and make contact with diverse groups of people, they also were given new, broader responsibilities." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

argument in 1899 in an article for the **Herald of Truth** which instructed Mennonites to "correct in a Christ-like way," rather than point one's finger at another's faults.⁶

Hopkins writes that the settlements, which sprang out of Unitarian, Congregationalist and Episcopalian traditions, were markedly different from the missions that emerged from the pietistic and separatist traditions of Baptists and Methodists (and one could add Mennonites). Hopkins states that the latter created missions "marked by an evangelical fervor and an ideology looking toward a kingdom of God raised on earth by consecrated groups of individuals." The Mennonite mission fits this description.⁷

Evangelically, Mennonites were most profoundly influenced by the Dwight L. Moody model of evangelism. Moody (1837-1899) avoided social issues, arguing that conversion would be the best way to meet one's social needs. He advocated separation from the world, and although this separation "was not radically outward as in the Anabaptist tradition, but rather an inner separation marked by the outward signs of a life free from specific vices," this aspect of his theology may

have been the most appealing one to Mennonites. The first Mennonite evangelists "imitated what they saw of Dwight Moody" and other revivalists. The mission, too, followed Moody's lead.⁸

Theron Schlabach writes that the Chicago Home Mission "was an arm of Moody's about as much as of the Mennonite Church." The Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, founded in 1886, was one of the nerve centers for the Student Volunteer Movement. Students studied the Bible and were trained to be "gapmen" who went out into mission fields to convert people in the gaps of society. They visited city residents, conducted cottage prayer meetings in homes, and distributed tracts and Bibles. Moody students occasionally worked through the Home Mission as part of their required volunteer work, and Mennonite students—male and female—who lived at the mission often attended Moody's Bible Institute. Lina, Clara and Amanda all participated at the Moody Bible Institute, and at the Moody Church. They also attended lectures and other schools throughout the city.⁹

It was a struggle to remain Mennonite while living in the city and adopting non-Mennonite practices. Church conservatives argued against the mission for this reason—that Mennonites compromised their principle of separation from the world by being in Chicago. The mission was a radical step for Mennonites, although compared to larger social reform programs it was quite conservative. The mission was a mixture of several elements which made it unique. One of the most distinctive characteristics was the opportunity opened for women.

The letters and journals written by the women who worked at the mission reveal their everyday impressions of the city and its people. Some of the letters were written for the Mennonite newspaper, **Herald of Truth** (later named the **Gospel Herald**). These were, of course, intended to inform and promote the work being conducted in Chicago, but the articles written by the workers, especially the women, are often anecdotal and testimonial, illuminating their personal thoughts. The journals and correspondence with friends and relatives offer perhaps a more candid description of the women's lives and feelings. This type

of writing also has its limitations. Many letters include only mundane conversation, and journals, only terse daily records, but private writings can also reveal a woman's most personal insights and reactions to her new and strange environment in the city.

Before the workers even arrived in Chicago they had learned of the evils of the city and had formed their own stereotypes of Chicago and its people. They were going there, after all, to convert this un-Christian society. During their engagement, Clara Eby and her fiancé M.S. wrote to each other about Chicago and the details of Clara's work when she would arrive in the city. On one occasion M.S. sent some newspaper clippings about Chicago which described, apparently, some of the more unsavory aspects of her future home. M.S. asked Clara to destroy the articles after she read them, so that others—church members—would not see them and have reason to think Chicago was too corrupt and dangerous a place to send Mennonites. Clara responded that she was glad to begin becoming acquainted with the city, but that "several times I about concluded that I *could* and *never would* work among such people."¹⁰

The women also had strong reactions to the mission's multi-ethnic neighborhood. During the first 25 years of the mission the surrounding neighborhood was largely German, Bohemian and Slavic. Where the parents did not speak English, the children could often act as interpreters. The foreign language services offered by the mission could be seen as an attempt to ease the immigrants' assimilation process. However, the mission women were more intent on converting these 'dark souls,' and they subscribed to most of the prejudices and stereotypes of the period. In a typical reference to "foreigners," Lina reported: "they are not only poor but very ignorant, and their lives are very dark, hence the great need of pointing them to the Savior."

Mission workers were also distrustful of many of the poor immigrants. When one woman said that she had "hardly anything to eat or wear," Amanda responded, "it is sad enough but one never knows how much they can believe some of these Bohemians." The community around the mission was largely white and European, but



The young women of the Chicago Home Mission and Gospel Mission had a Sunday school picnic at Garfield Park on Labor Day, September 7, 1914. Miss Eby, Rose Proceta, Clara Stemme, Emma Oyer, Margaret Anderson, Edna Kettke, Emma Barde, Mary Cicanek, Alvina Dahlgren, Anna Bakes, Agnes Anderson, Mary Chambers, Esther Chambers, Van Luah Anderson. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Lena and Esther Graber Collection

occasionally women mentioned African-Americans, usually in passing. During a visit to a hospital ward, Lina wrote that she talked with a "darky woman whose heart seemed very dark."¹¹

Women from rural Mennonite communities were not only allowed to experience city life and make contact with diverse groups of people, they also were given new, broader responsibilities. Women in the Church between 1890 and 1920 were instructed to be silent and submissive. The prayer covering and bonnet were not only symbols of Mennonite nonconformity but of woman's subordination to man, and her acceptance of man's leadership, based on I Corinthians 11.

By the end of the nineteenth century, though, the question of woman's submission was as much a social one as a religious one. Women were believed to be "more easily led astray," and were to be kept in their place. The veiling was interpreted as a command from scripture, but the bonnet was only enforced through church ordinances. At the turn of the century many North American Mennonite churches passed such rulings because women no longer adhered to the bonnet tradition as closely as before. The ordinances made such tradition mandatory and officially made women silent and secondary church members. The mission women did not question the theology behind the prayer covering, or the social mandate for the bonnet. Sermons were

given at the mission on simplicity and the prayer head covering, and converts were encouraged to wear the Mennonite "uniform," even though the bonnet made the women stand out, especially in the city.¹²

Although delegated to a separate sphere, women, however, took advantage of their unique opportunities in Chicago and played an integral part in the formative years of the mission. James C. Juhnke writes that although they were patriarchal, Mennonites were all "taught to be humble, submissive, and obedient," and that for men and women there was a "tension" as "they shifted the meaning of obedience to Christ from a living of ordered relationships in community to working for heroic Christian causes." Mission heroics by women especially threatened tradition—and conservatives who held to it—because silence of women in the church was still the norm.

However, women were needed in the mission. "We need lady workers," M.S. Steiner wrote to Clara before their marriage, to work among women and children because "lady teachers meet with better success than gentlemen teachers." Women represented just over fifty percent of the mission workers between 1893 and 1920, and they performed every task in the mission except as minister or doctor. Some women at the Chicago Home Mission even challenged the roles they were given. They surely participated in 'women's work,' but did not remain

silent. Melinda Ebersole, the first permanent worker at the mission, was cited by one historian as the only female minister in Illinois, unusual considering the Mennonite rulings against women in ministerial roles. In 1911 Ann J. Allebach was ordained at the First Mennonite Church in Philadelphia, but subsequent conferences forbade further ordinations. Ebersole was not ordained, but in the *Herald of Truth* A.S. Bauman implied that Ebersole and A.H. Leaman, then the superintendent, shared in the decision-making concerning charitable contributions to the poor.¹³

Lina Zook also assumed leadership roles at Sunday school conferences and in the mission. In 1897, she advised that the Mennonite constituency "should desire a report of the work here" because it was their responsibility. In the early years of Mennonite mission work it was necessary to encourage readers to support the missionary effort, and Lina seems to have taken a lead in calling for permanent workers, and monetary and spiritual support. Lina was also critical of how the work was being administrated at the mission.

Privately, she wrote that the work was suffering because there were so few permanent workers, and that "the real work with lost souls [was] not carried on strongly enough." In 1898 she criticized the Mennonite Evangelizing and Benevolent Board (which administrated the mission) in a letter to A.B. Kolb. She was not satisfied with the "indifference" of the Board, writing that "much more could be done with a little more effort." She admitted that she was at first intimidated by Kolb's education and status, but felt that her "frank statement" was needed and would be helpful to him and the Board.¹⁴

Lina also responded to the Board on a more personal matter: her "love affair" with Dr. F.B. Whitmore. Whitmore had operated the mission medical dispensary in 1897, and also helped with the Sunday school work. In the letter to Kolb, Lina explained that her interest in missions had come long before her association with the doctor, and that they felt they would work well together as missionaries in India. Lina had expressed interest in missions since she was sixteen, when she corresponded with a missionary in India. In February 1898, Lina wrote

home, "I sometimes catch myself wondering if any of us will ever see India." Because Whitmore was a Baptist, however, Lina met with much opposition to her plans. Lina's family stressed their disapproval, and the controversy spread throughout the Church.

In April 1898 her parents wrote that "if he were a member of a nonresistant church we would not object," but as he was not, they did not wish to "make church trouble." In the summer of 1898 J.S. Hartzler, a minister from Indiana, told Lina's parents that Dr. Whitmore was "not worthy" of Lina and that he was unacceptable as a missionary. Lina's father refused to give his consent to their marriage; her mother explained that they "would be satisfied with the Dr.," but they "could not be satisfied having [Lina] outside the church." Within the Church Lina was labeled a "traitor to mission work," and her "course" was discussed as a potential "damper to the mission cause." Lina's sister, Mary, wrote that "Dr. W must be a very nice, patient young man to take all the 'bobering' the Board is giving him." She was anxious to meet "Dr. W," but recommended that "perhaps he had better not come to go to church, though, or some people might hurt themselves."¹⁵

Lina left the mission late in 1898 for five or six months. She was instructed by C.K. Hostetler of the Board to choose between Whitmore and mission work in India or in Philadelphia. Lina did not choose Dr. Whitmore. She returned to Chicago in March, 1899, at first attending Moody Bible Institute and only working at the mission part-time. Lina's father did not approve of her return to Chicago, which Lina lamented in her journal. Her reception at the mission was apparently a bit cold, too; she left soon after to teach at Elkhart Institute. A letter from Clara Steiner to her sister Amanda stated that Lina did not leave because of Steiner's husband M.S., but that "others used her rougher than he did."¹⁶

Eventually Lina did make it to India after marrying J.A. Ressler, a widower who was one of the first Mennonite foreign missionaries, in 1903. Lina wrote her parents of her engagement, "Of course I have not forgotten F.B.W. [Dr. Whitmore] but he was no Mennonite and Bro. R. is

and so of course I do not think you will have any objections to offer on that score." Lina would be able to live at least part of her dream—she spent five years in India, but she first had to give up her independence and her love. Before her wedding Lina cried, "Now I won't be Liny Zook anymore, just 'Jake Ressler's frau.'" Lina had always wanted to "help somebody." It is likely that Lina would have continued to pursue her mission goals no matter what her choice. Her independence and aggressiveness, however, appear to have intimidated the Church, and her happiness was compromised due to the position in which she was placed.¹⁷

Most women at the mission settled more quietly into their subscribed roles. Between 1893 and 1930 many Mennonite women attended college and entered missions, but the education and experience they gained was usually not career-oriented. In college women learned the concepts of "motherhood" and "home" in the terms of American liberalism: women needed education "to provide high-quality nurture for the young children (boys), who would one day be responsible to build a better nation and world." The missionaries in Chicago also adhered to this theory of "educated motherhood." The woman's place was still in the home, and the female missionaries not only kept the mission home, but attempted to take care of the neighborhood as well, nurturing the poor children, and teaching their mothers how to do the same. They were an "object-lesson" to their subjects, just as other female missionaries in Protestant evangelicalism were; the role of the female missionary was to practice and to preach motherhood. This quiet role, however, was significant, for the woman's task in the mission was the very task of the mission itself—to nurture children and adults to Christianity.¹⁸

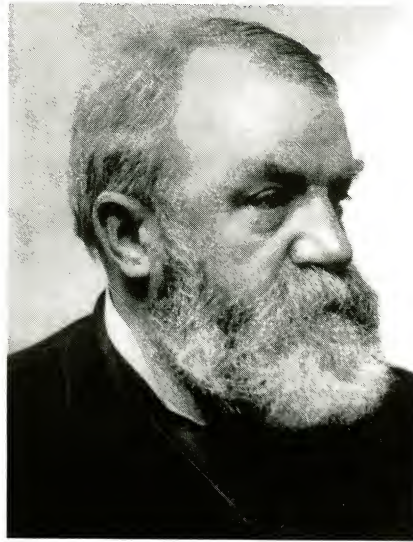
A typical week-day in Chicago included visiting homes, comforting the sick, assisting mothers with housework, bathing their children, bringing them groceries—sometimes even cooking a meal—praying, singing, reading with the families, and then going home and helping with the domestic chores. At the mission the female workers usually shared all the cooking and cleaning tasks, tasks that

at times overwhelmed their mission work. Clara wrote to M.S. before their marriage that she objected to this "Boarding House Scheme"; she stated that she "would enjoy teaching much better than cooking for a lot of boys and girls." She frequently wrote journal entries detailing her daily chores, and at times commented: "It seems as though I can't get more done than the cooking, ironing, mending and cleaning anymore." Even after an illness forced her to wear a leg cast, and later a brace, she prepared the meals. By 1919 they had hired a cook because, as Amanda wrote, she was "not able to do so very much else when [she] had to cook for twelve."¹⁹

Amanda's position as 'Mission Matron' and her daily routine of cooking, cleaning, and ironing may seem mundane. However, Amanda, who was at the mission for 22 years, provided stability and control. (Most workers only volunteered for a few months, or for one to two years.) Amanda was so important to the functioning of the mission that when she became seriously ill after her son Cleland was born in 1905, "it was necessary to dispense with most of the services for several weeks. No children's services are being held except a short session of Sunday school. Preaching services are held only on Sunday morning and evening."²⁰

The woman's primary responsibility—as mission worker—was to train the city people for Christian living. This began with the children. The mission's task was to offer Christian nurturing to save the children from their life on the streets and in abusive family environments. The children were often the most eager visitors to the mission. Although at times disruptive and disrespectful, large numbers attended Sunday school and "Fresh Air" outings. Just as Hull House built playgrounds and established summer camps for children, the Mennonite mission adhered to the principle that "the best and most creative kind of play was rural play." "Fresh Air" programs took groups of children—and often their mothers—to parks, or to nearby Mennonite rural communities.²¹

The principal methods of training children, however, were in kindergarten, Sunday school and in the sewing school. The kindergarten was



Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899): "Evangelically, Mennonites were most profoundly influenced by the Dwight L. Moody model of evangelism. Moody constantly stressed the necessity of conversion, and based most of his messages on the love of God. Photo: Moody Bible Institute

for three to six-year-old children, who were instructed in physical exercise, needle work, and moral and religious development. The Sewing school taught young people practical skills as well as religious principles. Beginners would work on simple stitches and quilt blocks, while more advanced students would sew clothes and piece quilts. They also learned lessons and verses from the Bible during their sessions which were designed to draw children to Sunday school.²²

The purpose of the Sunday school was not only to educate children on biblical matters, but as Anne Boylan writes, "to promote discipline, order, and stability." Students were judged on attentiveness and good behavior. The Mennonite teachers often commented on "noisy and restless classes." The three primary methods for teaching used memory work, question and answer sessions and talks by the teacher or superintendent. Amanda prepared some of the lessons for the larger Mennonite church. The women also attended training schools for teachers, and borrowed ideas from Protestant networks. These associations are clear in Amanda's diary, in which she mentioned going to Sunday School Union meetings and teacher's

classes at the Y.M.C.A. and Moody's Church.²³

Mothers were also taught Christian and practical skills. Other than attending church services, city women were offered Mothers' meetings one evening each week. Amanda organized the meetings, and often led them herself, but speakers were also invited in to instruct the women on topics such as "Worry," "What a man has a right to expect of his wife in the matter of housekeeping" (given by Amanda's husband A.H.), and "How to make home pleasant." In 1904 Amanda also started receiving and selling **American Motherhood**, a monthly magazine on mothers, and children's care and hygiene. The women were also counselors and role models for the wives in the neighborhood. They attempted to set a Christian example, and to keep families together. Often they advised women to stay with their husbands, even in abusive relationships. Amanda recorded a "sad" story of an abusive husband who committed suicide, and his wife who was "glad" he was dead. Occasionally the workers happened along in the middle of a domestic fight. In 1900, Amanda wrote, "I have heard of man and woman fighting—but now, I have seen them." She was horrified to see that "poor little children [had] to be trained under such influences." The wife accused her husband of sleeping at a brothel, and both the husband and wife were yelling death threats at each other. The husband knocked the woman down, and she chased him with shears and a knife. In a similar incident years later a woman accused her husband of being unfaithful and lazy. The husband threw a glass object at his wife and cut her forehead. "The things he said in my presence were enough to cause one to blush," Amanda wrote.²⁴

The women at the Chicago Home Mission did not achieve leadership roles in the official Church hierarchy, but they were given the opportunity to speak and lead in work with women and children. Women were allowed to experience and to participate in the new evangelical community of the Mennonite Church, and to advance their education. The community within the mission became a home away from home in which one could enrich oneself personally and spiritually. There was also a large network

of Mennonite and Protestant missions in Chicago, and within the larger Mennonite Church. Women and other workers often visited other missions; they were familiar with the workers and patrons of several missions. They also created associations with the Mennonite Woman's Missionary Society, founded by Clara Eby Steiner in 1911-1912. The mission also served as a 'Mennonite hotel' of sorts where visitors from across the country could stay on their way elsewhere or to learn about the mission work.²⁵

The education of the city and in Bible or teacher's training schools allowed the women to grow intellectually and spiritually. Lina Zook's aunt sent her a letter in 1897 stressing the need to explore the city and what it had to offer. She wrote:

"I wish you to see these things as being education and broadening to one's view of life in general, while the music and sermon will be uplifting... The young men have the opportunity of getting 'points' all the week at the [Moody Bible] Institute, surely you girls should have the chance to do likewise,... but *they* will not suggest it; it never occurs to the average man that a woman need know *any* thing beyond baking and brewing. So you ladies will have to talk it over and then suggest it, not as being a favor *granted* but as being *your* share of *getting* something out of your Chicago experience—which is your duty as much as to always be giving."

The women did explore, it seems, visiting museums and other sights—in addition to learning much about the poorer side of the city in their work.²⁶

There also were many personal rewards in their work. Clara and Melinda visited an especially receptive Bohemian family one day. They had made a connection—the children even sang for the missionaries. "This has been my greatest day's work since I have entered the city," Clara wrote. Women especially responded to teaching Sunday school, making it the keystone to a style of living centered on introspection and self-improvement. Women spent more time than on Sunday learning and preparing their lessons. It was an opportunity for "self-mastery," as well as a tool to convert and nurture others. "I enjoy these lessons greatly," said Amanda of her women's Bible class, "and hope they may prove a benefit to the



Frances E. Willard, National Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) leader in 1895. Although there is no mention of the Mennonite women attending WCTU meetings, temperance lectures were given at the mission. Photo: National Women's Christian Temperance Union, Frances E. Willard Memorial Library

women."²⁷

In 1897 Lina wrote, "Ours is the work of accomplishing only little things in the Master's name." Those little things often provided the most joy, such as a child wanting to hold a teacher's hand, or preparing and observing the children "relish" the annual Christmas dinner. The work was hard, but as Lina often said, they were "helping somewhere." They felt they were accomplishing something, and that their role was significant. Lina wrote, "I believe this has been one of the most profitable years I have ever spent. There is something about this work that gives a person a real satisfaction."²⁸

The Mennonite women of the Chicago Home Mission were among the first to break the silence of women in the Church between 1890 and 1920, being allowed to work within the sphere opened to many women in the nineteenth century. The early years of the Chicago mission experiment reveal a changing Mennonite Church, and the private writings of Lina Zook Ressler, Clara Eby Steiner and Amanda Eby Leaman show that women were a driving force in this evangelical movement. In very quiet ways, these

women made the mission work and the mission possible. In the 1920s there would be a changing view of society in the Church. Earlier Mennonites had adhered to the concept of the educated motherhood and placed an emphasis on institutional work in missions where women were tolerated. In the 1920s, though, they adopted the view of "wife-companion," and the emphasis shifted from missions to personal evangelism and correct doctrine, in which women "had far less place." A study of the mission after 1920 might reveal a changed position for women due to the shift in the Church.²⁹ *U*

Tammy Peters of Hesston, Kansas, is a graduate student at Purdue University. This essay is excerpted from her 1993 John Horsch Essay Contest entry.

¹ Theron F. Schlabach, **Gospel Versus Gospel: Mission and the Mennonite Church, 1863-1944** (Scottsdale, Pa: Herald Press, 1980), 23.

² Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4; Willard, quoted in Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, W.W. Norton & Company, 1981), 67.

³ Ruth Bordin, **Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900** (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 3-5, 9; Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, **Progressivism** (Arlington Heights, Ill: Harlan Davidson, Inc.), 74-5; Mary Amanda Eby Leaman (MAEL) diary, 20 August 1899, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 6, MAEL Collection, Archives of the Mennonite Church (AMC); MAEL diary, 8 January 1915, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 31, MAEL Collection, AMC. Amanda did not mention the success of the Eighteenth Amendment in her writings.

⁴ Ronald C. White, Jr. and C. Howard Hopkins, **The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America** (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), xv; C. Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 318-20; White & Hopkins, xv.

⁵ Hopkins, 319; Muncy 9, 20; Davis, 41-82.

⁶ Lina Zook Ressler (LZR) to sisters Mary and Elva, 20 January 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XVII, f. 2, J.A. and Lina Ressler Collection, AMC; LZR, "Chide Gently, *Herald of Truth* (HT) 35 (15 March 1899): 82.

⁷ Hopkins, 318.

⁸ George Marsden. **Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Fundamentalism: 1870-1925** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 32-3, 37-8; Theron F. Schlabach, ed., **Mennonite Experience in America**, Vol. 3, **Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930**, by James C. Juhnke (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1989), 108 (hereafter referred to as Juhnke).

⁹ Schlabach, 61.

¹⁰ S. Steiner (MSS) to Clara Eby Steiner (CES), 28 November 1893, Hist. Mss. 1-33, XX, f. 2, MSS Collection, AMC; CES to MSS, 3 December 1893, Hist. Mss. 1-201, VIII, f. 3, CES Collection, AMC.

¹¹ Erb, 23; CES large diary, 24 May 1894, Hist. Mss. 1-201, XI, CES Collection, AMC; LZR, "Correspondence," HT 33 (15 November 1896): 346; MAEL diary, 7 August, 1900, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 8, MAEL Collection, AMC.

¹² Harold S. Bender and C. Henry Smith, eds. **Mennonite Encyclopedia** (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959, 1973), s.v. "Prayer Veiling," by John C. Wenger; Marlene Epp, "The Double Standard of Nonconformity: An Historical Perspective," in **Women's Concerns Report** (Akron, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee U.S. Peace and Justice Ministries, March-April, 1993): 7.

¹³ Juhnke, 286-7; MSS to CES, 10 November 1893, Hist. Mss. 1-33, XX, f. 2, MSS Collection, AMC; Elaine Sommers Rich, **Mennonite Women: A Story of God's Faithfulness, 1863-1983** (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1983): 148, and Weber, 602; Juhnke, 287-8; A.S. Bauman, "The Chicago Home Mission," HT 39 (15 February 1902): 55.

¹⁴ LZR, "Address"; LZR, "Home Mission Notes," HT (15 June 1898): 183; LZR, "Go or Send," HT 35 (1 January 1899): 7; Melinda Ebersole, "Chicago Home Mission Notes," HT 43 (8 March 1906): 78; Mary S.

Denlinger, "The Mission Spirit in City Missions," HT 34 (1 November 1897): 325; LZR to sister Mary, 6 November 1899, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XVII, f. 2, Ressler Collection, AMC; LZR to A.B. Kolb, 2 June 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, I, f. 4, Ressler Collection, AMC.

¹⁵ LZR to Kolb; Lehman, 145-6; LZR to family, 22 February 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XVII, f. 2, Ressler Collection, AMC; Mother and Father to LZR, 27 April 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XIX, f. 4, Ressler Collection, AMC; Hartzler in Lehman, 148; Mother to LZR, 26 July 1899, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XIX, f. 5, Ressler Collection, AMC; S.A. Kurtz to MSS, 19 September 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-33, V, f. 8, MSS Collection, AMC; Sister Mary to LZR, 18 July 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XIX, f. 4, Ressler Collection, AMC.

¹⁶ C.K. Hostetler to LZR, 10 November 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XIX, f. 4, Ressler Collection, AMC; LZR diary, 2 March and 4 June 1899, Hist. Mss. 1-117, IX, f. 4, Ressler Collection, AMC; CES to MAEL, 29 October 1899, Hist. Mss. 1-201, VII, f. 7, CES Collection, AMC.

¹⁷ In Lehman, 149-50; LZR to family, 22 February 1898.

¹⁸ Juhnke, 288-9; Copies of tracts and articles on the submission of women often ran in the *Herald*, see for example, "Submission of Women, GH 3 (29 December 1910): 618, 626; Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, **Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of A Quest for Status** (Westport, Conn.: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1983), 162.

¹⁹ See for example LZR to family, 29 January 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XVII, f. 2, Ressler Collection, AMC and LZR, "Address"; CES to MSS, 17 March 1894, Hist. Mss. 1-201, VIII, f. 3, CES Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 23 February 1907, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 17, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 2 November 1906, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 15, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL to niece Charity, 26 March 1919, Hist. Mss. 1-335, Lester & Charity (Steiner) Collection, AMC.

²⁰ Weber, 289-91; Amos Eash, "Home Mission Notes," HT 42 (16 February 1905): 35.

²¹ Davis, 60.

²² MSS to CES, 28 November 1893, Hist. Mss. 1-33, XX, f. 2, MSS Collection, AMC.

²³ Anne M. Boylan, **Sunday School: The Formation of An American Institution 1790-1880** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 40, 104-5;

MAEL diary, 30 October 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 4, MAEL Collection, AMC; Harold S. Bender, **Mennonite Sunday School Centennial 1840-1940: An Appreciation of our Sunday Schools** (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1940), 44; MAEL diary, 9 April and 18 November 1909, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 21, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 11 February 1916, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 33, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 15 October 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, F. 4, MAEL Collection, AMC.

²⁴ MAEL diary, 23 January 1912, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 27, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 24 November 1908, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 19, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 1 March 1910, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 23, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 25 March and 10, 28 October 1904, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 13, MAEL Collection, AMC; CES large diary, 14 June 1894, Hist. Mss. 1-201, XI, CES Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 22 January 1918, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 36, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 4 December 1899, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 6, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 20 March 1900, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 8, MAEL Collection, AMC; 5 April, 1911, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 25, MAEL Collection, AMC.

²⁵ MAEL to CES, 27 March 1912, Hist. Mss. 1-201, VII, f. 7, CES Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 6-10 November 1902, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 11, MAEL Collection, AMC; MAEL diary, 7 November 1898, Hist. Mss. 1-610, I, f. 4, MAEL Collection, AMC.

²⁶ Emily P. Zook to LZR, 1 December 1897, Hist. Mss. 1-117, XVII, f. 2a, Ressler Collection, AMC.

²⁷ CES to MSS, 25 May 1894, Hist. Mss. 1-201, VIII, f. 3, CES Collection, AMC; Boylan, 101, 103; MAEL diary 2 March 1911, I, f. 25.

²⁸ LZR, "Mission Notes," HT 34 (1 December 1897): 361; The Workers, "Correspondence," HT 33 (1 November 1896): 329; A Helper, "Home Mission Notes," HT (12 January 1905): 15; Melinda Ebersole, "Chicago Mission Notes," 78; LZR, "Notes from Home Mission," HT 35 (1 April 1898): 103; LZR to family, 2 September 1897, Hist. Mss. 1-117, I, f. 4, Ressler Collection, AMC.

²⁹ Sharon Klingelsmith, "Women in the Mennonite Church, 1900-1930." **Mennonite Quarterly Review** 54 (July 1980): 199.

The Experience of Mennonite Women

A meeting of conference committees, historians and Mennonite heritage interpreters

October 20-22, 1994

The MeetingHouse, Harleysville, Pennsylvania

October 20 Thursday

- 7:00 Welcome, worship, The experience of Franconia women,
Mary Jane Hershey

October 21 Friday

- 9:00 Worship, Joanne Hess Siegrist, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Address: Rereading Mennonite history with a woman's eyes,
Marlene Epp
11:00 What's happening in our societies and conferences:
reports from the provinces
12:00 Lunch*
1:00 Introduction to the MeetingHouse, Joel Alderfer and
Carolyn Nolan
2:30 Bus tour of Franconia Conference historical sites,
John L. Ruth and Joel Alderfer
6:00 Dinner* at a historic site
7:30 Conference and congregational record collection and
preservation, Carolyn C. Wenger and Hope Kauffman Lind

October 22 Saturday

- 9:00 Worship, Louise Stoltzfus
Address: Gender theory and Mennonite congregational
history, Kimberly Schmidt
11:00 Seminar options
• Fundraising and promotion, Arlin Lapp
• Conference historian's role, John Sharp
• MC-GC cooperation or merger, John Thiesen
12:00 Lunch*
1:00 Panel: Collecting and preserving with a view to gender,
Ann Hilty, Sam Steiner, Dennis Stoesz
2:30 Wrap-up
3:00 Closing meditation, Donella Clemens

*Common meals

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New York*

War, Peace, and 'Coals of Fire'



Guy F., Elizabeth, Paul, and Clara Hershberger in 1947 did not work on Sundays. "Each spring I eagerly watch for the delicate purple blooms that are the harbinger of Spring in our little woods and am reminded of those Sunday afternoons spent with my father."

By Elizabeth Bauman

Fifty years ago, *War, Peace and Nonresistance* was published, but I did not know it would still be in print 50 years later.

As I was growing up in the home of Guy and Clara Hershberger, I was not totally aware of my father's involvement in the broader church or the world out there. I knew that he frequently spoke in churches, sometimes made trips to Washington, D.C. and spent a great deal of time in his office.

It was later, when I was older, that I came to appreciate his many interests, his scholarly work and his churchmanship. But I was aware that he spent many hours in his office on the second floor of Science Hall at Goshen College. He was gone during the day and it would not be unusual that the evening meal waited his arrival because a committee meeting ran overtime or some other occupation

kept him longer than anticipated.

Quite regularly he returned to his desk in the evening. While he was fully occupied during the week, there was one day when his desk must have felt deserted. He never worked there on Sunday. It was not only a day when he did not go to the office; I was not expected to study on Sunday either.

The Lord's Day was a time for a change in routine and refreshment for the spirit.

Usually I welcomed this arrangement until the day a major exam was scheduled for Monday morning. I simply had to study on Sunday or I knew I would fail that test. The conflict that followed was real, but I did not study. Miraculously I passed the test. Sunday was a day our family spent in other ways.

There was church in the morning and in the evening. And if we did not have guests or he was not gone speaking in another congregation, the

afternoon was "ours." This meant a walk in Shoup Woods. We walked through the Goshen College campus, crossed Main Street at Egress farm (now the location of Newcomer Center) and followed the cowpath past Ginsengs barn and into the woods.

It was here that I learned the names of the trees, including those native to Indiana: hornbeam, dogwood, redbud. After making our regular visit to the dam we would return by way of the canal past the full beds of hepaticas.

I have rescued one plant from the "progress" which is now GraRoy Drive with its substantial houses surrounded by green carpeted lawns. Each spring I eagerly watch for the delicate purple blooms that are the harbinger of spring in our little woods and am reminded of those Sunday afternoons spent with my father.

While there were those special times with my father, it was mother who was "present" in our home. She

was there when I returned home from school. It was with her I would talk over the activities of the day as we washed dishes together. I would observe how she would prepare the meals and then frequently keep the hot dishes warm until my father would arrive.

Mother's significant involvements in the church and community did not detract from what she saw as her first priority—her family. This included reading aloud each word of **War, Peace and Nonresistance** as father checked his copy for any errors. The entire family rejoiced when the writing was done, the proof reading completed and the manuscript sent to the publisher at Scottdale.

The book was released 50 years ago in 1944. It was my perfectionist father who invested incredible hours in the writing of this statement on biblical nonresistance, but mother and the rest of the family made their contribution in obscure ways.

How were my father's strongly held beliefs about peace as a way of life passed along to me? I have few memories of formal teaching or even discussions with him about the subject that was so important to him and which he spent so many hours writing about.

What I do remember, and what made a lasting impression on me, were the individuals who came to our home for counsel, conversation and even debate. I frequently listened in on the interchange which more likely than not centered around peace issues: labor relations, the draft, or the Christian's relationship to government.

One afternoon he was entertaining a visitor in the living room who was less than convinced about the way of peace, let alone the practicality of "turning the other cheek." After explaining his position, the guest turned on my father and with unexpected energy and passion, called out: "Those are just words you are saying. If it came to a real crisis I don't believe you would do what you are telling me."

My father's response was to say nothing. Later mother said to me, "I think he was truly hurt because this is something he believes in deeply. I believe him."

And then there were the times I accompanied him on visits to congregations where he was asked to speak on issues related to peace. He was not ordained so he gave talks in these churches, not sermons.

It was on one of these occasions that I was sitting in the congregation at East Union Mennonite Church in Kalona, Iowa. I heard him tell the story of Dirk Willems, the Anabaptist who rescued his pursuer and subsequently became a martyr for his faith.

Following the recounting of the drama my father commented, "We have many other accounts of people around the world in all centuries who have lived the life of peace. Most have never been recorded. Our children and young people need to hear these stories and hopefully some day they will be written down for them to read."

It was more than ten years later that I was asked by the Peace Problems Committee to record these faith stories for the children of the Mennonite Church. *Coals of Fire* was published in 1953.

By 1967 I was married and our oldest son was a senior at Goshen High School. That year was also when the Military Selective Service Act was amended by the House Armed Services Committee. The proposed legislation provided for the induction into the armed forces of persons conscientiously unable to perform either combatant or non-combatant military service.

This reversal of the provision made during World War II and since would have meant that alternative service outside the military would not be possible.

The implications of this proposed change were not lost on our son who had heard the discussions in his grandfather's home. Our son was also aware of his grandfather's plans to visit Washington to appeal the case before the Indiana Congressman. And of course, being of draft age himself, the implications became very real.

Feeling a personal responsibility he drafted a letter to his Indiana Congressman expressing his concern which was then signed by 11 classmates.


Among other things they wrote: "We would be honored if you would take time for serious consideration of this Act, an amendment to the Selective Service Law, which comes up for review every four years. As you know this Act would take away the right of

conscientious objectors to perform their alternate service outside the Armed Forces. We feel we cannot join the Armed Forces as this Act would require. . . Part of the American right of freedom of religion, declared in the Bill of Rights, would also be denied to the conscientious objector."

Unknown to my father this letter was mailed to Congressman Adair. When my father made his trip to Washington and indicated the nature of his visit, the Congressman responded with recognition of the issue. He had on his desk, he said, a letter which had just arrived from a young man in Goshen also expressing concern.

Within a week our son received a letter from Congressman Adair which read in part: "I have received many adverse comments from constituents who, because of their religious beliefs, are concerned with an amendment to the proposed legislation extending the Selective Service Act... I am in agreement with the position these people have taken... I have discussed it with my colleagues on the House Armed Service Committee... and believe that this will result in restoring this provision... to the status in which it existed since World War II."

Upon his return from Washington, my father sent a letter to his grandson in which he thanked him for his part in making the interview with Congressman Adair so successful. Until that time the Congressman had not been aware of the proposed change and the implications for many people. The letter had alerted him and they were able to discuss the issue fully.

My father's deep involvement in peace issues was not lost to me as a child, growing up during the years when he was writing **War, Peace and Nonresistance** (Herald Press, 1944). I am grateful to him for the legacy he left me. I am also grateful that this legacy has extended through the generations to include his grandchildren as well. 

Elizabeth Hershberger Bauman is the author of **Coals of Fire** (Herald Press, 1954), and daughter of Guy F. and Clara Hershberger. The letter from Congressman Adair, along with the papers of Guy F. Hershberger, are in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

Mennonite Women's Experience

By Beth Graybill

Born Giving Birth: Creative Expressions of Mennonite Women. Mary H. Schertz and Phyllis Martens, ed., Newton, Ks.: Faith and Life Press, 1991. Pp. 88. \$19.95.

Mennonite Women 1994 Calendar. Phyllis Pellman Good. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1993. \$9.95.

A Quiet Strength: The Susanna Ruth Krehbiel Story. Amelia Mueller. Newton, Ks.: Faith and Life Press, 1992. Pp. 146. \$9.95.

Willing Service: Stories of Ontario Mennonite Women. Lorraine Roth. Waterloo, Ont.: Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, 1992. Pp. 274. \$18.00.



In 1904 Lettie Eash of LaGrange County, Indiana, worked as a secretary for Aaron C. Kolb, book manager of the Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart, Indiana. The photo appears in February in the Mennonite Women 1994 Calendar (Good Books) which comments that "young single women often found jobs in the workplace." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, John F. Funk Collection

These four works, which vary in approach from literature to history, examine Mennonite women's experience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As such, they make important contributions to the relative lack of scholarship in this field.

Some of the books suffer from lack of specificity, attempting to universalize about Mennonite women's experience without clarifying as to which group of Mennonite women they refer. In this respect, the works which succeed best are those whose scope is smallest: **A Quiet Strength**, which tells one woman's story, and **Willing Service**, which limits its stories to Ontario Mennonite and former Amish Mennonite women within the Swiss Mennonite tradition.

A Quiet Strength follows the journey of Susanna Krehbiel from rural Bavaria to the American Midwest, detailing her experiences as pioneer wife and mother. Based on Susanna's own autobiography, this account is especially interesting for its description of the immigrant experience. Written as historical fiction, the book makes for stronger history than literature.

The individual women's biographies in **Willing Service** are engag-

ingly written if randomly organized (neither alphabetically nor chronologically). However, unlike a similar book, **Encircled: Stories of Mennonite Women** (Faith and Life Press, 1986), this collection would have been strengthened by the use of more direct quotes from the women described and greater historical contextualization with events in the larger society. (The book does include some useful historicizing in relation to events in the larger Mennonite church and their effect on the women in this book.)

Willing Service faces the challenge inherent in writing women's history (lack of primary source materials) by drawing extensively on interviews and archival materials. In some cases, however, the book raises more questions than it answers. The story of Mary Snider, a single mother raising a son in the nineteenth century, is certainly an unusual circumstance that gets only a passing comment. In another case, so little information is available about a seemingly unremarkable mother and daughter one wonders why they were included.

The author states in the preface that, "Cooperation and teamwork are the themes I should like to highlight... In one instance a woman may be

commended for submerging her energies in supporting her husband, while another one is praised for aggressively running her own program." To what extent the author's purpose muted the writing of individual women's stories is difficult to assess since the women's own words are seldom included.

By contrast, **Born Giving Birth** takes a strictly literary approach. Dozens of poems are interspersed with beautiful reproductions of drawings, photographs, and four-color art works by artist Erma Martin Yost. Though the quality of the literature is uneven, this resource is valuable in that it speaks directly to and from contemporary Mennonite women's experience.

The editors view this collection as continuous with Mennonite women's creative spirit. This spirit "so long denied expression in the church" nevertheless "lived on in quilt designs, flower gardens, and creative relationships."

Apparently referring to women in General Conference, Mennonite Church and Mennonite Brethren groups, the editors describe the indisputable fact of Mennonite women discovering their voices in settings

from church boards to pulpits. They write: "our voices speaking on paper, film, in ink and paint are redemptive voices: redeeming the silence, giving birth from that silence and witnessing to the creative spirit that did not die" (page 10). This collection illustrates distinctive Mennonite women's voices.

Also in an artistic vein is the new **Mennonite Women 1994 Calendar**. The 12 memorable photographs in this calendar depict a fascinating breadth of Mennonite women, from Russian Mennonite to Old Order to Northern Cheyenne. The calendar is strongest when using photo captions to illuminate specifically historical footage and weakest when attempting to generalize about Mennonite women from

contemporary photographs. The calendar marks an odd assortment of holidays (Chinese New Year, Islamic New Year, Mexican Independence Day) as well as others which bear more connection to the calendar's theme (International Women's Day, and the Amish holidays of Second Christmas and Whit Monday.)

Presumably intended for a wider tourist market, the calendar includes an introductory essay more focused on Mennonites than on Mennonite Women. The author writes: "Mennonite women have been a full half of this history." The following general statement from the introductory essay is or would have been true of most Mennonite women — "usually

reserved when outside their own homes, so unwelcome in leadership that most were convinced they didn't want it, and persons who valued deeds more than words."

However the author is evidently referring not to conservative but to liberal Mennonite women when she writes that Mennonite women today "hold together their wish for faith, family, and a fulfilled personal life." Greater specificity would have strengthened this unique resource. *✍*

Beth Graybill of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is pursuing graduate studies at the University of Maryland.

'Thoughts of my pacifist ancestors...'

By Levi Miller

David McCullough's best-selling biography, **Truman**, quotes Arthur Holly Compton, 1927 Nobel Prize in Physics winner and director of the Metallurgical Laboratory of the Manhattan Project from 1941 to 1945. On July 23, 1945, the day before Truman told Stalin in Potsdam of the U.S. intention to use the new atomic bomb against Japan, Compton was asked: "Washington wants to know what you think."

"What a question to answer! Having been in the very midst of these discussions, it seemed to me that a firm negative stand on my part might still prevent an atomic attack on Japan. Thoughts of my pacifist Mennonite ancestors flashed through my mind. I knew all too well the destruction and human agony the bombs would cause. I knew the danger they held in the hands of some future tyrant. These facts I had been living with for four years. But I wanted the war to end. I wanted life to become normal again. I saw a chance for an enduring peace that would be demanded by the very destructiveness of these weapons. I hoped that by use of the bombs many fine young men I knew might be released at once from the demands of war and thus be given a chance to live and not to die."

Arthur Holly Compton (1887-1957) and his mother Otelia Catherine Augspurger Compton (1858-1944) in 1944 at Wooster, Ohio. Photo: The College of Wooster Archives

Compton voted with the majority, and two weeks later the first atomic bomb fell on the people of Hiroshima.

Arthur Holly Compton grew up in Wooster, Ohio, the son of Otelia Holly Augspurger and Elias Compton. Otelia Holly Augspurger was raised in the Apostolic Mennonite Church of Trenton, Ohio, in Butler County near Cincinnati. This Amish Mennonite settlement was begun in 1819 by families from the Alsace Lorraine region between France and Germany. Compton's grandfather Samuel Augspurger was a conscientious objector during the Civil War and his ancestor, the immigrant Daniel Holly, was a minister in the Hessian Church from 1841 until he moved to Illinois in 1848. Arthur Compton recalled that the immigrant Holly "reacted so vigorously against the effort of an army officer to impress him into military service that flight from France to Germany became necessary."

The quotations are from Arthur Holly Compton, **Atomic Quest** (New York: Oxford, 1956), 206, 247 and in **Truman** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 441. *✍*



Book Reviews

The Harmonia Sacra. Intercourse: Good Books, 1993. Pp. 407. \$19.95.

Two New Year's Day singings in Elkhart, Indiana, and Harrisonburg, Virginia, inaugurated the twenty-fifth edition of *The Harmonia Sacra*, the oldest shaped-note hymnal still in active use today. Weavers Mennonite Church, west of Harrisonburg, hosted the Shenandoah Valley's ninety-second annual Harmonia Sacra singing which included aficionados Les and Sylvia Helmuth, Jan Showalter, Joan Martin and Retha Baer (photo).

The Elkhart singing at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary chapel was headed up by James Nelson Gingerich, Goshen physician who edited the new edition. The hymn book was first released in 1832 as "Genuine Church Music" by Joseph Funk (1778-1862) in Singers Glen, Virginia. A wide seller, the book was used in most early Mennonite singing schools and has sold more than 100,000 copies to date.

Funk moved from Pennsylvania to the area that would become Singers Glen in 1786. He established a hand printing press at his log springhouse in Singers Glen in 1847 where he pursued his interest of collecting songbooks, revising sacred melodies and conducting singing schools, most held in schools rather than churches.

Funk organized dozens of singing schools in at least 11 counties in Virginia and adopted his own system of "shaped notes" to help persons learn the scales and to sing the song. The new edition contains some 50 pages of "Rudiments and Elucidations of Vocal Music" prepared by Funk which Kenneth Nafziger of Eastern Mennonite College and a consultant for the project called: "a marvelous instructional manual on how to read music."

The latest edition restores the hymn book to its distinctive oblong shape which it has not had since the release of the twenty-third edition in 1972. In all, the new edition contains about 50 selections that haven't appeared since the earliest edition of the hymn book's existence.

*Jim Bishop
Harrisonburg, Virginia*



J.C. A Life Sketch. John C. Wenger. Goshen: Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1993. Pp. 79. \$100.00.

The succinct, anecdotal style of a beloved, Mennonite churchman and master storyteller rings familiarly through these pages, compelling the reader with fascinating, first person detail and the local color of his eastern Pennsylvania boyhood home. Here one can imagine J.C. purchasing a soldier's helmet to wear in Honey Brook after World War I, breaking Aunt Lizzie's eyetooth with a stone, or getting his coattail caught in a chair.

Candidly this prolific author, scholar, teacher and ordained leader (deacon, minister, and bishop) reveals his sensitivity. He is suffering severely from the pressure to wear a plain suit, struggling for Christian assurance of being "saved," feeling keenly his exclusion from a 1934 Rockhill ordination class, sailing away from his new bride for study in Zurich, or weeping as the NIV Bible translators celebrated the conclusion of a decade-plus of work with the "Doxology."

Throughout the book one senses J.C.'s attempt to live a consistent and humble Christian life, faithful to the Word as he understood it. His commitment and ability to integrate advanced historical, biblical, and theological scholarship into an effective nurture and evangelistic ministry to the grass roots remains an exemplary ideal for educated leaders today. He has remained intensely loyal to the Mennonite Church. Leaders and lay

members alike will benefit from this volume, which contains profound doctrinal truths within the cloak of autobiography.

*Carolyn C. Wenger
Lancaster, Pennsylvania*

No Permanent City: Stories from Mennonite History and Life. Harry Loewen. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1993. Pp. 224. \$10.95.

They say that when most of us conceive of Mennonite tradition, we're probably thinking about how our grandparents lived. Harry Loewen's stories, dating from the 16th century to the present, are bound to shatter some of those notions—from the minister who was an expert wine taster to the bomber shot down during World War II.

These 45 brief tales are told the way we like them—"historically true" and with the simplicity and earnestness of oral style. Drawn from a range of fully-annotated sources, none is given to false nostalgia, and many include fair-minded historical assessment. The stories are set in Europe and a few Mennonite enclaves in the New World.

Although they're not equally compelling as narratives, all are interesting and easy to read for a general audience. Particularly striking is Loewen's tender, angry reflection on his mother's experience as a woman in Mennonite communities in Russia and Canada.


*Julia Kasdorf
Brooklyn, New York*

Where There Is Vision. Harold D. and Ruth K. Lehman. Mt. Pleasant, Pa.: Laurelville Mennonite Church Center, 1993. Pp. 96. \$15.00.

Where There is Vision is a beautiful benchmark of an appreciated Menno institution. Less self-serving than self-evaluative, the tone the Lehmans set gives a fair assessment of a half-century of slightly serendipitous pursuance of some of the spiritual visions of church people on the flanks of the oldest mountains in North America.

This handsomely printed school-yearbook size volume, printed by the organization itself, vibrates with resplendent photographs whose captions, although not often dated (page 39), give the story in a nutshell. The editors, the authors, and Laurelville have set a high standard for other organizational histories to follow.

From this footnoted story of 96 pages I learned that Laurelville was dedicated two weeks after I was born; that A.J. Metzler and Orie O. Miller were pivotal founders; that the Young People's Institutes movement birthed this camp; and that from 1944 to 1959 an average of one new Mennonite camp opened each year.

What I did not learn was whether the vacationing sites of Falling Water, Ohiopele, and U.S. Presidents in that area influenced its location. Or was it really that Scottdale is, in fact, the demographic center of the Mennonite Church? I did not learn why *Gospel Herald* in 1977 gave notice of executive director Arnold Cressman resigning. Nor did I learn if they want me to become a member of the association. 

Glenn Lehman
Leola, Pennsylvania

Recent Publications

Brenneman, Michael. **Family Record of Christian P. Brenneman and Catherine Slabaugh.** 1992. Michael Brenneman, 1699 500th Street, SW, Kalona, IA 52247.

Clemmer, Abram Lapp. **Henrich and Maria Clemmer of Franconia, PA.** 1992. \$35.00. Arlan and Jorene Clemmer, R. 1, Box 131, Blossom, TX 75416.

Derksen, Mary Hiebert and Anne Neufeld. **A Tribute to Isaak F. and Susana Doerksen.** 1992. Pp. 365. \$75.00. Frank and Mary Derksen, 22 Madrigal Close, Winnipeg, MB R2P OH8.


Jansen, Russel H. **Baerg 1777-1992: a Family History and Genealogy of Johann and Catrina (Newman) Baerg, their Ancestors and their Descendants.** 1993. Pp. 355. \$48.00. Russel H. Janzen, Box 2452, Sumas, WA 98295.

Ludwig, Selma Jantz. **Carrying the Torch: the Story of the Ford J. Jantz Family 1886-1992.** 1992. \$10.00. Selma Ludwig, R 1, Box 261, Inola, OK 74036.

Some Descendants of Michael Peters. 1993. Pp. 593. \$40.00. Edward Peters, R. 1, Box 432, Manson, WA 98831.

Stauffer Family History 1765-1982. 1982. Pp. 901. \$10.00. Paul M. Burkholder, R 2, Box 2042, Fleetwood, PA 19522.

Waite, Frances W. and Thomas G. Webb. **Hans Detweiler Family History.** 1993. Pp. 394. Thomas G. Webb, 302 Ivy Church Rd., Timonium, MD 21093.

Further information on the above books may be obtained from the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526. 

News and Notes

Shenandoah Valley Mennonite Historians in Virginia was organized on October 2, 1993, at a breakfast meeting of people interested in local Mennonite history. Laban Peachey, one of the founding leaders, said the intent is to: "bring together persons interested in the Valley church history, to collect historical information about churches, families and individuals and to assist the church community and individuals to tell the story of their past."

Other leaders in the new organization are Lois Bowman, James Rush, Randall Shank, and Linden Wenger. Sixty charter members signed on to the new organization which publishes a quarterly newsletter, *Shenandoah Mennonite Historian*, and is planning field trips and meetings. To join send \$3.00 for the annual membership to the treasurer (Linden Wenger, 1570 Hillcrest Drive, Harrisonburg, VA 22801).

Harry Loewen of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and **Steven Nolt** of Elkhart, Indiana, have been commissioned to write a Anabaptist Mennonite history text by a committee of the Mennonite Secondary Education Council. The text is intended to be "reader friendly" to ninth and tenth grade high school students.

Hugo Friesen has been named the archivist of the Mennonite Archival Centre located at Clearbrook, British Columbia. He would welcome contact with other Mennonite archivists (Columbia Bible College, 2940 Clearbrook Road, Clearbrook, B.C. V2T 2Z8).

William Penn (1644-1718), the British Quaker who founded Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, will have his 350th birthday remembered on October 24, 1994, as well as throughout the year. The Philadelphia Friends' "William Penn Anniversary Project" is urging Quaker schools, hospitals, nursing homes and local meetings to devise their own acknowledgement activities. Raised in privilege, William Penn became a convinced Quaker at age 22 and tried to live out a creedless Christianity emphasizing simplicity, equality and pacifism.

Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church is having its Spring meetings May 20-21 on the Goshen College campus. A search committee (Arlin Lapp, Sam Steiner, and Carolyn Wenger) is expected to bring a candidate to serve as director of the Committee and Archives.

Harold S. Bender and the Anabaptist Vision Conferences: June 13-16 at Elizabethtown College (Don Kraybill, The Young Center, Elizabethtown, PA 17022 717 351 1470) and October 14-17 at Goshen College (Theron Schlabach, History Department, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526 219 533 2280). Write or call for programs.

Paul Grove of Ringwood, Ontario reports that documents recently discovered by him show that construction of Wideman's Mennonite Meetinghouse in Markham, Ontario, began in 1817. A hand-written copy of a translated German document, the original of which is dated December 26, 1816, refers to a decision of "the united brethren of the mennonist [society]... to build a house to keep godly servise within, for oure selves

and our children." An account book lists donation "for the meetinghouse" beginning in January 1817. Grove has translated excerpts from the account book and deposited them in the Mennonite Archives of Ontario.

Marlene Epp received a \$3,000 grant from the Quiring-Loewen Trust to assist her doctoral research on the experiences of Mennonite women who emigrated from Russia to Canada after World War II.

Reg Good successfully defended his doctoral dissertation, "Crown-Directed Colonization of Six Nations and Metis Land Reserves in Canada" at the University of Saskatchewan in 1993. Good focused on the role of Mennonite block settlements in displacing Aboriginal peoples.

H. Harold Hartzler, a family historian and former science professor, died on December 31, 1993. Hartzler wrote many articles for the magazine **Mennonite Family History**.

How Quiet in the Land? is the title of a conference on "women of Anabaptist traditions in historical perspective" at Millersville University June 8-11, 1995. The conference planners have issued a call for papers for the first academic conference on Anabaptist women's history. Proposals should be sent to **Diane Zimmerman Umble** (The Quiet in the Land Conference, Box 1002, Millersville University, Millersville, PA 17551 717 872 3233).

Arlin Lapp ended a 10-year tenure as president of Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania on January 16



Ray Bender



Roy Kaufman



Martin Weaver




Roy Myers

Mennonite nonresistants in the Near East Relief photo on page three of the January, 1994, **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** have been identified by our readers. The above head shots are taken from that photo.

and was replaced by **Mary Jane Hershey**. Lapp reminded the Franconia and Eastern District-based historians of Psalm 78 "to be diligent in telling our children and grandchildren the stories of what God has done for us... so they will put their trust in God and keep his commandments."

Eldon Hostetler says the Nebraska Society members continue to "poke and probe" through the old records of their regional history. They also produce a fine **Nebraska Mennonite Historical Newsletter**; the January, 1994, issue featured "Milford to Tofield" by Beulah Stauffer Hostetler.

The Oregon Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society met March 20 at the Portland Mennonite Church at which Phil Hostetler gave a history of that 70-year old church.

Heritage Celebrations by Wilma McKee has been issued in a new edition by Faith and Life Press of Newton, Kansas. The 100-page handbook (\$10.95) on planning and documenting church heritage events had been commissioned by the former Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church. 

1994 John Horsch Mennonite History Essay Contest

Deadline for entries of paper is June 15, 1994. Send papers to Marilyn Voran, Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526.

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1944: When A New Leadership Entered Center Stage in the Mennonite Church



After the Second World War, Mennonite Church leadership was more aware of "sincere Christians among other Christian groups who were intent on following Jesus as Lord, and who accepted the way of peace and love as the ideal and vision for life." Mennonite Relief Committee members met at the Mennonite Board of Missions headquarters in Elkhart on September 26, 1952: (seated) Levi C. Hartzler, Paul Erb, H. Ernest Bennett, Orie O. Miller, (standing) John H. Mosemann, Harold S. Bender, A. Lloyd Swartzendruber, Joseph (J. D.) Graber, Lewis Martin, Boyd Nelson. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Mennonite Board of Missions Collection

By Leonard Gross

Fifty years ago, 1944 was a watershed year for the Mennonite Church, ushering in a new era and bringing changes; the effects are still being felt. A handful of new young leaders were suddenly there at the helm: The "Watershed Ten," as Guy F. Hershberger would later name them. Ten leaders, in and of themselves, could not have brought about such a transformation for a whole group of people. In a very real sense, they were simply responding to current realities in a manner that seemed

"right" to the thousands who made up the Mennonite Church at the time.

The Mennonite Church had gone through a major transformation some two generations earlier when the Mennonite mother tongue turned from German to English. In turning "English," many Mennonites in the 1890s, desiring to accord with a biblical, New Testament approach to life, rediscovered the great commission as part of the way of Jesus. The English world "out there" had opened up to the Mennonites, virtually over night, as a mission field.

Suddenly, many Mennonites consequently yearned to become "Christian workers." Simultaneously, an institutional era emerged in 1898 and following, colored by a doctrinal emphasis which took many of its cues from the new American progressive religious movements of the day. Daniel Kauffman and his **Manual of Bible Doctrines** of 1898 set the stage for this era by systematizing doctrine in general, and in setting dress codes and "restrictions" for faithful Christians.

In specific ways this era brought with it a new separatism: new, nar-

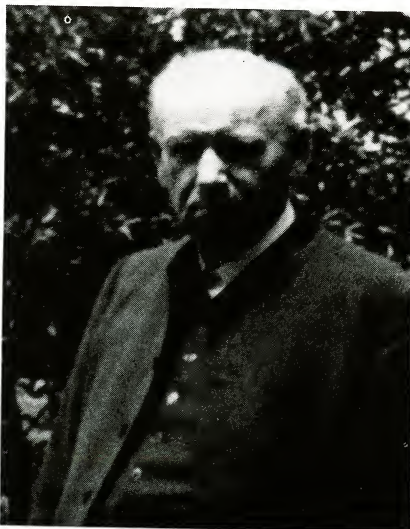
rower definitions of what it meant to be Mennonite (some other Mennonite groups no longer seen as being faithful disciples), and a new, more confining way of understanding the various denominations of Christians in general.

The forces of the Second World War in the 1940s, however, changed all this when Mennonites, as conscientious objectors (COs) to war, entered alternative service. They soon found that there were indeed sincere Christians among other Christian groups who were intent on following Jesus as Lord, and who accepted the way of peace and love as the ideal and vision for life.

These dramatic changes of the 1940s, as noted above, were brought about in large part by the experiences of thousands of COs, many of whom — men and women — became relief workers who entered post-war relief work in Europe and elsewhere under the auspices of the Mennonite Central Committee.

By the year 1944, these changes had become highly visible at the center of the Mennonite institutional leadership. The Mennonite Church was experiencing a major transformation, moving from a rural to an urban culture. More and more children of the Christian workers of a generation gone by (many of whom had had only an eighth-grade education) were intent on entering college.

Instead of "Christian workers," the new concept was "Christian service." And to fulfill this role meant going to college and to the university, in order to be prepared for social work, for the medical profession (nurses and doctors), and for teaching.



Daniel Kauffman, longtime editor of Gospel Herald, died in 1944, and a reaction set in against his strong leadership style and doctrinal theology. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Daniel Kauffman Collection.

The Watershed Ten

The year 1944 thus ushered in the era of the Watershed Ten. In 1944, Daniel Kauffman died, and Paul Erb succeeded him as editor of the **Gospel Herald**. Erb, a Shakespearean teacher and a man of letters, as the new **Gospel Herald** editor gently encouraged the church to reach out to a broader, classical approach to culture which could include the liberal arts and still be in tune with a New Testament faith.

Harold S. Bender, Bible teacher and Anabaptist-Mennonite scholar, climaxed his score of years of research

with the publication of **The Anabaptist Vision** in 1944. In so doing, he reminded us of our longstanding vision of God's having worked among us over the centuries, and that our faith is rooted in history.

During that year J. D. Graber became the first, full-time executive secretary of the Mennonite Board of Missions. He helped the church to understand mission as an outgrowth and extension of community, not merely an individual phenomenon.

In 1944 Guy F. Hersherberger published **War, Peace, and Nonresistance**. This work provided the church with rational definitions and strategies on how love and peace are effected within the framework of the church. Through his monumental efforts, the church received its first comprehensive interpretive work on biblical understandings of war, peace, and nonresistance. He built on Anabaptist-Mennonite teachings and practice in this sphere (1525-1944) and pursued the social implications of the ethic of biblical love.

At this time also, Milo Kauffman was a central leader of the new genre, giving of his energies as president of Hesston College (1932-1951). Known for his optimism and positive and decisive leadership, he was instrumental in leading Hesston College out of the throes of the Great Depression, into a period of creative growth and vitality.

Chester K. Lehman of Virginia, dean of Eastern Mennonite College (1923-56), although not producing anything specific in the year 1944, was an essential part of the new corporate team at this time of transition. He continuously gave of his energies in fos-

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tering and maintaining positive and direct relationships with educational leaders from the other North American Mennonite institutions of higher learning.

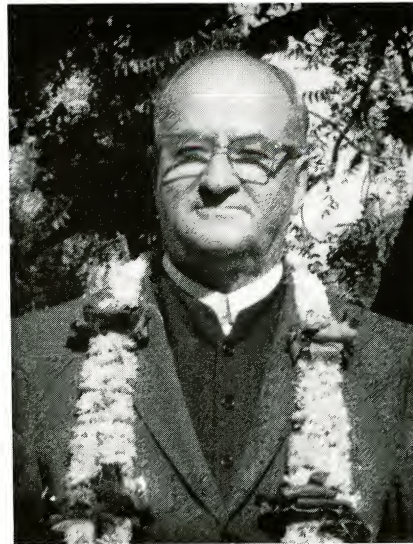
The youngest of the ten, Abraham (A. J.) Metzler served as publisher at the Mennonite Publishing House from 1935 to 1961. By bringing Edward Yoder and Paul Erb to the Publishing House, Metzler began to establish a strong foundation for this new type of leadership at Scottsdale.

In 1944 Orie O. Miller, with others, set up Mennonite Mutual Aid as a formal Mennonite Church institution. Incorporated in 1945, MMA set out "to provide a means for members, congregations, and church communities in the United States to carry out the historic Anabaptist and New Testament practice of stewardship of material and financial resources, and to share in times of crisis and hardship."¹ Miller also continued, behind the scenes, to promote strong inroads of peace during a time of war, in part through the Mennonite Central Committee.

Edward Yoder, a quiet team person, held optimistically to the idea that there were good things in the offing for the church. The pursuit of excellence tempered everything he accomplished. Yoder gave himself wholeheartedly to the quest for peace. His booklet, **Must Christians Fight**, a 1943 publication of the Mennonite Central Committee, exemplifies Yoder's lifelong preoccupation with this theme, and his synthesis of this age-old problem of the Christian's involvement in society.

Yoder, who died in 1945, was convinced that each member of the church was part of the group dynamic that determined the character of the Mennonite Church. For indeed, it was their church, and each of the Watershed Ten leaders affirmed this principle that the church dynamic is "all of us together" (not primarily the few at the top), reflecting on and responding to truth.

Also in 1944, in a special session of the Mennonite Church's General Conference, through the efforts of Sanford (S. C.) Yoder, reconciliation took place among the leaders. For years some ministers had been fiery crusaders on matters of theology, doc-



Milo Kauffman: "Known for his optimism and positive and decisive leadership," led Hesston College out of the throes of the Great Depression and visited Union Biblical Seminary in Yeotmal, India, in November of 1962. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

trine, and dress. S. C. Yoder was the noble and gracious gentleman who dared to call theological bickering, intrigue, and suspicion each by its true name.

Chester (C. K.) Lehman, dean of Eastern Mennonite College, in Harrisonburg, Virginia: "Gave of his energies in fostering and maintaining positive and direct relationships with educational leaders from the other North American Mennonite institutions of higher learning." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church



In that amazing year of 1944, the number and type of radical changes seemed to impel the denomination into a new course. Yet in specific ways, the 1944 changes were also a corrective. From 1898 through 1943, history tended to be downplayed and specific teachings played up. The longer view suggests that the Mennonite Church, after 1944, was returning to its more traditional course and way of life, in many ways more in tune with the pre-1898 times than with the first 40 or more years of the twentieth century.

What many people had come to know as "what we have always believed" can now be seen as a doctrinal era. Its heyday came in the 1920s and 1930s, the years between the First and Second World Wars. By the time of the 1940s, however, some aspects of the "rules and regulations" were beginning to be regarded as impeding the work of the kingdom. Many believed each member of the church was to be a thinking disciple within a gathered church.

In 1944 and following, the above-named leaders and others as well helped initiate new programs within the various Mennonite institutions. Authoritarianism in doctrine and dress was in the process of being replaced by a new approach to a faith rooted in history. We are only beginning to understand this new spirit and substance — just as we are only beginning to understand the nature of the period from 1898 to 1943.

None of these young leaders alone could have recast the Mennonite structures. Yet together they helped a new wholeness to appear. This is not to say that the era from 1898 to 1943 was devoid of the divine touch. Good things occurred, as thousands of deeply dedicated "Christian workers," as they were called, gave of themselves in every way they knew how. And there was a constant increase in membership.

At the same time, there was a "Mennonite problem" during this time. In 1985 Guy F. Hersherberger defined the problem as follows:

It needs to be remembered that the 1920s and thirties were a time of confusion and unrest within all of American Christendom, involving among other issues the funda-

mentalist-modernist controversy within the mainline Protestant denominations. When the Mennonite Church was confronted with this issue, demanding theological acumen, scriptural discernment, and ecclesiastical statesmanship for its resolution, the church leadership, for the most part, was unequal to the task. And this for two reasons: 1) Its biblical and theological education had been inadequate for the requirements of the time. 2) It had an inadequate understanding of even its own Anabaptist heritage.

The result of this situation, the roots of which reached back several generations, was a state of confusion and uncertainty. In many cases this led to distrust which could easily have culminated in disaster had it not been for an emerging generation of future leaders engaged in diligent search for a deeper understanding of the way of Jesus Christ as explicated by our Anabaptist heritage, working for peaceful change through loving reconciliation.²

That such an interim was inevitable is hard to believe, in the light, once again, of Guy F. Hersher's analysis of the late nineteenth-century Mennonite intellectual legacy:

Considering its available resources, the [Mennonite periodical] **Herald of Truth** during the 1870s and eighties had done reasonably well at keeping the Mennonite Church in tune with its Anabaptist heritage. It was the next generation of leaders, however, enamored by progressivism to the point of absorbing elements of an alien theology inherent within the work of the American Protestant Sunday school movement, which eventually was led to the acceptance and teaching of a doctrine of salvation which unwittingly excluded Christian discipleship and the peace teaching of the Sermon on the Mount as residing integrally at the heart of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Not only did this step bring the Mennonite Church to a point on the theological scale farther out of tune with its Anabaptist heritage than had been the case in the 1870s and eighties. It was now also at the point where the door was opened to the errors of fundamentalism. While there was no wholesale entrance into this door, there was



After 1944, many Mennonites became relief workers in Europe. Katherine Duerksen and Ava Horst sorted clothing in Holland. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

some such. And there was far too much appropriation of the spirit of fundamentalism, making for a doctrinaire type of authoritarian leadership.

In Anabaptism "the church against the world" is of the essence. But when the understanding of that essence is watered down, or even lost, the outward forms become its all-important substitute. And it was with the employment of this substitute, too much as its major theme, that the authoritarian leadership, though out of tune with its own heritage, continued to direct the ecclesiastical music, now so seriously lacking in harmony. It was this situation which had set the stage for the confusion, disharmony, and distrust against which the younger generation of the twenties and thirties had been laboring, bringing their effort to a climax in the watershed year of 1944.³

The sudden changes precipitated by the Second World War deeply affected the Mennonite Church at its very heart. Had its "political" center not also changed accordingly, it would have been out of balance, as Paul Erb wrote in 1963: "The unchanging God in a changing world calls men to change and to bring about changes."⁴

The Year 1944 Through the Eyes of Editor Paul Erb

In January 1944, Paul Erb assumed his new position as editor of the **Gospel Herald**. In this new position, Erb opened the journalistic door to a whole new forest of ideas and approaches for the church; he also helped to interpret this new forest. Thus it is appropriate to bring this era into focus, and to grant it an interpretation as seen through the eyes of Paul Erb, the editor who allowed a new level of intellectual thought to be spread onto the pages of the **Gospel Herald**. From the vantage point of 1984 he remembers:

I think I made a little more of a literary organ [out of the **Gospel Herald**].... I did do things somewhat differently. For instance, my attitude toward poetry: I included quite a bit of poetry, but it wasn't Daniel Kauffman's kind of poetry; I added a little more of a literary flair to it. I developed quite a few poets, women especially, some men, but also women like Laurie Gooding, for instance, and this gave her an opportunity to show her flair, and she did a very nice piece of work for us. I didn't think of [the **Gospel Herald**] in terms of

needing a change, but I guess it was that. I listened to different people and gave other people a right to speak.⁵

By the year 1951, Erb made a decisive change within the idea behind *Gospel Herald*. He began a new column, "Our Readers Say." What is taken for granted in the 1990s was a radical innovation in 1951. The Mennonite Church had not had such a column in its church organ since 1908. For 35 years the Mennonite Church press was tightly controlled, with little chance for opposing views to be made known, especially those on the more radical fringes. Here is Paul Erb in his own words (March 12, 1982):

When I was editor, I carried a pretty strong feeling that I'm speaking for the whole denomination, and I had my finger out all the time to get the pulse of the general body. I think the *Gospel Herald* has functioned pretty well in speaking for the whole group — being open to different points of view. This has been largely since my day — in open letters. It is significant that we have points of view like that in the church, and that we are willing to listen to them.

Daniel Kauffman wouldn't have done that, I don't think.... He would never have had letters to the editor or that sort of thing published to give variant points of view. There would have been some pretty hot responses in his day, but he wouldn't expose those to the light. I don't have as high an opinion as I ought to have of the intellectual strength of the *Gospel Herald* under Daniel Kauffman; I think some of our best thinkers wouldn't have thought of it as a medium in which they could express themselves. But he kept it going, kept us together, and he gave a strong leadership of his particular type. He was pretty much an autocrat; that's the kind of leadership he gave to it, which was good, but it's good we don't try to continue it.

In this same interview I noted that, during those decades before 1944, many Mennonite expressions of faith and doubt were not given a voice in his denomination. Paul Erb responded: "I think [this] was true, more than any of us were aware of, in those days. But there was great respect for our leadership which kept the dissidents down both in volume and in tone."



Guy F. Hershberger: "Through his monumental efforts the church received its first comprehensive interpretive work on biblical understandings of war, peace, and justice." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

Attitudes Toward Change

Paul Erb, much earlier in the century, had considered himself a fundamentalist. He speaks to this (May 18, 1982) as follows:

We young people — young fellows like me — were brought up to think that we were fundamentalists. If you'd have asked me in 1918 whether I am a fundamentalist, I would have said, "Certainly." It was Harold Bender and his ilk who commenced to warn us about the dangers of fundamentalism.... I have come to agree with him.... I'm not happy when people speak of the Mennonite Church as being a fundamentalist church — Harold Bender was the first one who had the stature and the ability to raise a question about fundamentalism and get away with it.

In the late 1940s, Erb also expressed himself on theological issues: "Some years ago I remember that modernism was a distinct threat to the Mennonite church. I have been feeling for some time now, however, that fundamentalism was much more of a threat" (Erb to Gerald Studer, April 16, 1948). "That is one of the things that I have against the fundamentalists. They are

so dead sure that they are right, but they are always putting other people in their place. I want to avoid that critical and censorious spirit" (Erb to Barney Ovensen, April 28, 1953).

The above examples — illustrating Paul Erb's resolve to change in order to serve a changing world — could be expanded into the areas of dress and other cultural adaptations. And by the 1960s, the church was ready, formally, to consider a concept of change. In 1963, at the end of his years as editor of the *Gospel Herald*, Erb was asked to address the Mennonite Church General Conference in Kalona, Iowa, on "A Christian Philosophy of Change."⁶ This essay, written by one already in his retirement years, is still so current that it would merit republication in 1994. Erb's genius involved finding the heart of any given issue, and getting right to the point. In his characteristic manner, Erb noted that the church must be at the creative edge of change:

Many changes have come about through the initiative of the church. The church must continue to be that kind of a stimulant to godliness and righteousness. It is the responsibility of the church to point the directions of change, to set up the targets of reform or action."⁷

Erb was especially concerned that there be

open channels of communication bringing together various facets of conviction, leading through true dialog in finding the mind of the Spirit.... Coercion gives short answers,... seldom permanent ones. Collaboration is a necessary ingredient of the change process. We must do things with people, not to them. The time and situation wherein a church decides to part from a past pattern should be decided by a consensus within the congregation rather than by the arbitrary ruling of one or a few.... The process of change can be helpful or harmful to church life, depending on how it is conducted. Oneness in Christ rather than cultural uniformity must be seen as the basic requirement of the church. The achievement of New Testament standards for the church must be accepted as a fundamental goal.⁸

Sum and Substance

Paul Erb and the others who made up the Watershed Ten have earned, in the final analysis, a special place within the Mennonite Church. During the era of 1944 and following, these individuals, working cooperatively, served as prime movers within the church.

During the latter '70s and early '80s, Paul Erb and I carried on intense dialogue for seven years. Toward the end of our last interview on February 14, 1984, sensing that this might be my last time with Paul, I paid a personal tribute to him on how he personified so many of the important changes in our denomination:

There is an era that includes a Paul Erb, a Harold Bender, an Orie Miller, a Guy Hershberger, a J. D. Graber, an S. C. Yoder, and others. These are very central figures who helped bring us back into balance, back into our Mennonite center, helped us to see we needed something in addition to the discipline of doctrine. But these individuals could not have been as useful as they were, had it not been for a vehicle for them to test their ideas and that's where you as *Gospel Herald* editor were essential for bringing this whole thing together. You were a catalyst, and I call it "the power of language."

Then Paul quietly implied that it is now for a younger generation to assume the role of interpretation. So Paul Erb, in his last weeks of life, prompted the next generation to be open to change while simultaneously retaining the essential best of the longer tradition. The Watershed Ten also intended to balance change and tradition, impelled as they were by a fresh vision for a small yet significant religious denomination. Flawed humankind continues to live by vision and so desires to reach out, albeit imperfectly, to the whole of what the kingdom of God is meant to be.

Afterthought: Both Doctrine and History

To be fair to such loyal leaders as Daniel Kauffman, one needs to set what have been posed as opposites



Paul Erb becomes a model of combining both history (South Central Frontiers, 1974) and doctrine (The Alpha and the Omega, 1955). The Mennonites "are the richer, to be able to incorporate in their heritage both approaches in the pursuit of truth." Photo: Mennonite Publishing House

into a more reconciliatory setting, and suggest how the two ideas, doctrine and faith-rooted-in-history, can find synthesis.

To be sure, some individuals and groups reacted to programmatic doctrine in the early decades of the twentieth century, even leaving the Mennonite Church for this reason. On the other side, after 1944 a number of other individuals and groups—in most cases centering in these very doctrinal approaches—also found it necessary to form their own bodies in order to remain faithful to their vision of Christianity.

Can a church have the best of both worlds: both history and doctrine? It seems—the bias of a historian—that history has carried the church well over the centuries. Mennonites from the Swiss-South German tradition have tended, for example, to delve into doctrinal approaches to theology only when certain theologies from without were threatening ongoing Mennonite faith and life. It is significant that a well-defined Anabaptist Christology was not developed in Upper Germany until the 1650s, when antitrinitarian theology made inroads into Anabaptism.

In any case, the moment is here where, in addition to history as carrier of the faith, both doctrine and systematic theology need Mennonite attention. A tremendous amount of work is still to be done on the Sermon on the Mount—one of our vital doctrinal centers in the nineteenth century and earlier.

Mennonite faith rooted in history is a Christ-centered faith; the teachings of Jesus as an essential part of this faith need to be understood, interpreted, and promoted. In so doing, the church undergirds its faith, built as it is on doctrine (Christ's eternal message reinterpreted for today), discipleship (an obedient response to Jesus), and building up the kingdom (gathering together in the spirit of the Prince of Peace as committed disciples with a witness).

Paul Erb's own involvement in this era, especially from the 1940s through the 1960s, therefore becomes in many ways a model for today. For Erb helped on both sides of what heretofore in this essay has been contrasted too markedly. Erb was a theological interpreter, both in the discipline of history (*South Central Frontiers*, 1974) and in doctrine (*The Alpha and the Omega*, 1955). The Mennonites are the richer, to be able to incorporate in their heritage both approaches in the pursuit of truth. *L*

Leonard Gross is consulting archivist for the Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church.

¹ *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, V, p. 572

² Guy F. Hershberger, "Introduction," in Ida Yoder, ed., *Edward, Pilgrimage of a Mind: The Journal of Edward Yoder, 1931-1945*. Wadsworth, Ohio and Irwin, Pa.: Published privately by Ida Yoder and Virgil E. Yoder, 1985, p. XVII.

³ *Ibid.*, p. XXII.

⁴ "A Christian Philosophy of Change," *Gospel Herald*, Nov. 19, 1963, p. 1025.

⁵ Interview by Leonard Gross, February 6, 1984.

⁶ See *Gospel Herald*, Nov. 19, 1963, 1025.

⁷ Erb, *Gospel Herald*, *op cit.*

⁸ Erb, *ibid.*

Sanford Was Our Bishop

By Jacob (J. F.) Swartzendruber

Some of the information contained in these notes I have not seen anywhere in print. My recollections of Sanford C. Yoder come from living at Kalona, Iowa, in the same school district (usually a square, two miles on a side), attending the East Union Mennonite Church where Sanford served as bishop prior to coming to Goshen as president of Goshen College. Sanford's mother was a sister to my grandfather.

One day when I was 10 to 12 years old I went to Iowa City to the Court House where my father, D. B. Swartzendruber, had some business. After leaving the Court House, we met a gentleman we stopped to talk to. I don't remember who started the conversation, but it turned out that the gentleman was Dr. C. B. Wilson, head of the German department at the University of Iowa.

Dad asked Wilson if they continued to teach German during the war. During World War I, sentiment was strong against German-speaking people. Wilson indicated that the German department continued as usual. He

then asked if Dad knew Sanford Yoder. Since Dad wore a beard that gave Wilson a hint that he might know him. After learning that Dad knew him quite well, Wilson said that he had Sanford in a class and that that morning Sanford had brought him a large box of big strawberries.

Years later when I was a student at the University and enrolled in a course in German. I chose Dr. Wilson as my teacher, while many others tried to avoid him because he was "too old." I enjoyed my work with him and chose him for a special one-hour course to complete my requirement in German.

I was baptized in the East Union Church where Sanford was our bishop.

I well remember that one of the things which Sanford did was to start a song service before the evening service. We had 15 minutes of singing led by S. C. Yoder! I don't recall that he used a pitch pipe or did any instructing during the singing but simply led us in some old-fashioned singing. People enjoyed it greatly.



Sanford C. Yoder introduced pre-service music at East Union Mennonite Church near Kalona, Iowa, and in 1925 became president of Goshen College.

If I remember correctly, the first year after I became a member, we were asked, a church, to release S. C. to go to Goshen, Indiana, as President of the College. *J*

Jacob (J. F.) Swartzendruber lives in Goshen, Indiana.

Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Dennis Stoesz

What follows is a sampling of personal papers and organizational records that have come into the archives. They have come in, for the most part, during the first six months of 1994. They are listed alphabetically by the name of the collection.

Bethany Christian High School, 1954- , Goshen, Indiana. Official records, 1961-86, consisting of faculty minutes, 1968-85; board minutes, 1977-86; and financial statements, 1961-82. 15 linear inches. Donor: William D. Hooley, principal.

Council of Mennonite Computer Users, 1985-93. Records, 1985-93, consisting of minutes, memoranda, reports, correspondence, a computer disk, and buttons of this Mennonite computer users

group. Includes materials on MennoLink as well. 3 linear inches. Donor: John D. Yoder, Goshen College.

Hartzler, Levi C. Papers, 1937-39, including journals, correspondence, orders for relief supplies, and reports to magazines of Hartzler's work in Spain, first under the American Friends Service Committee, and then under the Mennonite Relief Committee. Includes correspondence with Orie O. Miller, John Reich, D. Parke Lantz, Lester Hershey, and John L. Horst. Also includes Hartzler's 1992 unpublished manuscript entitled "Spanish Child Feeding Mission, 1937-39: A Service Pilgrimage," 143 pages. 15 linear inches. Donor: Levi C. Hartzler.

Hispanic Mennonite Convention, 1975- , Elkhart, Indiana. Records, 1974-86, consisting of correspondence, reports, minutes, photographs, slides, and cas-

sette tapes of the work of the Hispanic Mennonite Convention. Files include those of Jose M. Ortiz, Samuel Hernandez and Arnoldo J. Casas. 5 linear feet. Donor: Wilson Reyes, executive secretary.

Kauffman, John F., 1900-1988, and Mina Edelman, 1910-1989. Photographs, 1890s-1980s, of the parents, friends, relatives, and early life of John F. Kauffman and Mina Edelman in Pennsylvania, Colorado, Missouri, and Illinois. Includes some photographs taken after their marriage in 1929 and their move to Michigan. 3 linear inches. Donors: Theron F. and Sara Schlabach.

Mennonite Church, General Board and General Assembly, 1971- , Elkhart, Indiana. Records, 1975-86, including the official staff correspondence, minutes and reports of the General Board, 1984-86; the files from General Assembly at

Ames, Iowa, in 1985; and the docket prepared for General Board meetings, 1975-83. 6.5 linear feet. Donor: Eloise Glick.

Milan Valley Mennonite Church, 1897-1941, Jet, Oklahoma. Sewing Circle record book, 1921-24, in which is included a list of contributors and contributions for the relief efforts of Mennonite Central Committee in Russia. 1 file folder. Donor: Bertha (Yoder) Miller, Nampa, Idaho.

Primera Iglesia Menonita, 1957- , Defiance, Ohio. Church records, 1974-91, including membership lists, Sunday school reports, a constitution, minutes of congregational and council meetings, a history of the church (1980), documents on the church building, and a guest book. 4.5 linear inches. Transferred to the archives in 1992. Donor: Hector Velanquez, pastor.

Short, Alma Aschliman, 1899-1953. Photograph album, circa 1910s-1920s,

including photographs of family, relatives, friends, nurses training, and church involvements. Includes a photograph of the Jos Aschliman barn, built 1906, the Lockport Mennonite Church, Stryker, Ohio, and the Bible School at Canton, Ohio. 1 file folder. Donor: Clell Short, Goshen, Indiana.

Steiner, John M.S., 1912-1990.


Papers, 1944-92, which include Steiner's autobiography entitled "Sketches," 1992; his 'Mennonite Church Polity' book, 1944; and his correspondence and reports, 1956-92, in his work as pastor (ordained in 1950) and bishop (ordained in 1957). Materials include his pastorship at Pleasantview Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana, work with Tri-Lakes and Roselawn Mennonite churches, and his attendance at meetings of the Central, Bristol and Goshen Ministers' Councils. 15 linear inches. Donor: J. Kevin Miller.

Stoltzfus, B. B., Lima, Ohio.

Correspondence, 1912-40, relating to his

work with Lima missions, as well as materials from sons B. Frank and Will Stoltzfus, who attended Goshen College in 1917 and were involved with relief work in Turkey and Syria, 1920-22. B. Frank and Will Stoltzfus stayed on to work at the universities in Turkey and Syria, respectively. 3 linear inches. Transferred to the archives in 1992. Donor: Ruth E. Yoder, Goshen, Indiana.

Weldy, Jacob I. and Rhoda

Landis. Papers, 1889-1952, including Jacob Weldy's ordination papers as deacon of the Holdeman Mennonite Church, Wakarusa, Indiana, 1913, and his deacon's poor aid fund book, 1914-52. Also includes Rhoda Landis' school papers, 1889-1893, Locke Township, Elkhart County; a wedding album, 1895; Sunday school materials, 1917-19; and photographs of Landis family. 9 linear inches. Donor: Dwight E. Weldy. 

Mennonite and Related Church Historians and Committees

This directory lists North American Mennonite, Amish, and related historical committees, societies, conference historians, and interpretation centers. **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** publishes this list annually and would appreciate any updates or corrections from our readers.

Allegheny Conference Historical Committee, John E. Sharp, Mennonite Church of Scottdale, Scottdale, PA 15683 412 887-7470

Atlantic Coast Conference Historian, Margaret Derstine, 2001 Harrisburg Pike, Lancaster, PA 17601 717 687-8259

Brethren in Christ Church, E. Morris Sider, Archives of Brethren in Christ Church, Messiah College, Grantham, PA 17027 717 691-6048

California Mennonite Historical Society, Peter J. Klassen, 4824 East Butler, Fresno, CA 93727 209 453-2225

Casselman River Area Amish and Mennonite Historians, Kenneth L. Yoder, Box 591, Grantsville, MD 21536 301 895-5687

Central District Conference Historical Committee, William

Keeney, 140 North Lawn Avenue, Bluffton, OH 45817 419 358-6017

Conference of Mennonites in Alberta, Henry D. Goerzen, R 1, Didsbury, AB T0M 0W0 403 335-8414

Conference of Mennonites in Canada History and Archives Committee, Lawrence Klippenstein, Mennonite Heritage Centre, 600 Shaftsbury Blvd., Winnipeg, MB R3P 0M4 204 888-6781

Conrad Grebel College, Sam Steiner, Institute of Anabaptist and Mennonite Studies, Westmount Rd North, Waterloo, ON N2L 3G6 519 519 885-0220, ext. 238

Conservative Mennonite Conference Historical Committee, Elmer S. Yoder, 3511 Edison Street, Hartville, OH 44632 216 877-9566

Delaware Mennonite Historical Association, John J. Yoder, Box 238, Greenwood, DE 19950

Essex-Kent Mennonite Historical Association, 31 Pickwick Drive, Leamington; mailing address: Harold Thiessen, Route 4, Leamington, ON N8H 3V7

General Conference Mennonite Church, John Thiesen, Mennonite

Library and Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, KS 67117 316 283-2500

Germantown Mennonite Church Corporation (1770 Meetinghouse, Rittenhouse Homestead, Johnson House), Galen R. Horst, 6133 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19144 215 843-0943

Hans Herr House Museum, Martin A. Franke, 1849 Hans Herr Dr., Willow Street, PA 17584 717 464-4438

Heritage Historical Library, David Luthy, Route 4, Aylmer, ON N5H 2R3

Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society and Illinois Conference Historian, Edwin J. Stalter, Mennonite Heritage Center, Box 819, Metamora, IL 61548 309 367-2551 or 815 796-2918

Indiana-Michigan Conference Historian, Russell Krabill, 26221 Vista Lane, Elkhart, IN 46517 219 522-6869

Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, Noah L. Zimmerman, The Historical Center, HCR 63, Richfield, PA 17086 717 694-3543

Kidron Community Historical Society, Wayne Liechty, Box 234, Kidron, OH 44636 216 857-3375

Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Carolyn Charles Wenger, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602 717 393-9745

Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, Lawrence Klippenstein, 484 Berkley Street, Winnipeg, MB R3R 1J9 204 888-6718

The Meetingplace, Curtis Brubaker, 33 King Street, St. Jacobs, Ontario N0B 2N0 519 664-3518

Menno-Hof, Tim Lichti, Box 701, Shipshewana, IN 46565 219 768-4117

Mennonite Archival Centre, Hugo Friesen, Columbia Bible College, 2940 Clearbrook Road, Clearbrook, BC V2T 2Z8 604 853-3358

Mennonite Archives of Ontario, Samuel Steiner, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6 519 885-0220, ext. 238

Mennonite Brethren Churches (Canada) Historical Committee, Abe Dueck, Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 169 Riverton Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R2L 2E5 204 669-6575

Mennonite Brethren Conference (North American) Historical Commission, Paul Toews, Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 4824 East Butler, Fresno, CA 93727 209 453-2225

Mennonite Brethren Church (USA), Peggy Goertzen, Center for MB Studies, Tabor College, Hillsboro, KS 67063 316 947-3121

Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada, Vera Martin, R 2, West Montrose, ON N0B 2V0 519 669-5379

Mennonite Church Historical Association, Levi Miller, Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526 219 535-7477

Mennonite Historical Association of the Cumberland Valley, Roy M. Showalter, Box 335, State Line, PA 17263 301 733-2184

Mennonite Historical Library, Ann Hilty, Bluffton College, Bluffton, OH 45817 419 358-3365

Mennonite Historical Library, John D. Roth, Goshen College, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526 219 535-7418

Mennonite Historical Society, Walter Sawatsky, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 3003 Benham Avenue, Elkhart, IN 46517

219 295-3726

Mennonite Historical Society of Alberta, Henry D. Goerzen, 76 Skyline Cres NE, Calgary, AB T1Y 4V9 403 275-6935

Mennonite Historical Society of Canada, Ted E. Friesen, Box 720, Altona, MB R0G 0B0 204 324-6401

Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, Carolyn S. Nolan, The MeetingHouse, 565 Yoder Road, Box 82, Harleysville, PA 19438 215 256-3020

Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa, Lois Swartzentruber Gugel, archivist, 710 12th Street, Kalona, IA 52247 319 656-3732

Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, Reg Good, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, ON N2L 3G6 519 885-0220

Mennonite Information Center, Dorothy Brenneman, 5798 County Rd. 77, Box 324, Berlin, OH 44610

Mennonite Library and Archives, John D. Thiesen, Bethel College, North Newton, KS 67117 316 283-2500, ext. 304

Michiana Anabaptist Historians, Russell Krabill, 26221 Vista Lane, Elkhart, IN 46517 219 522-6869

Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society, Paul Bender, PO Box 5603, Belleville, PA 17004 717 935-2598 or 717 935-5574

Muddy Creek Farm Library, Amos B. and Nora B. Hoover, 376 N. Muddy Creek Road, Denver, PA 17517 215 848-4849

Nebraska Mennonite Historical Society, Eldon Hostetler, 1014 First Street, Apt. 6, Milford, NE 68405 402 761-3072

North Central Mennonite Conference Historian, Melvin Hochstetler, Route 1, Box 116, Welford, ND 58385 701 583-2562

Northern District Conference, Rachel Senner, Freeman Academy, 748 South Main, Freeman, SD 57209 605 925-4237

Northwest Conference Historian, Harry Stauffer, R 1, Tofield, AB T0B 4J0 403 662-2144

Northwest Pacific Conference, Margaret Shetler, 5326 Briar Knob Loop NE, Scotts Mills, OR 97375 503 873-6406

Ohio Amish Library, Paul Kline, 4292 Star Route 39, Millersburg, OH

44654 216 893-2883

Ohio Conference Historical Committee, Wilmer Swope, 785 Beeson Mill Road, Leetonia, OH 44431 216 427-2039

Oregon Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society, Hope K. Lind, 28773, Gimpl Hill Road, Eugene, OR 97402 503 344-5974

The People's Place, Merle and Phyllis Pellman Good, Main Street, Intercourse, PA 17534 717 768-7171

Pequea Bruderschaft Library, on Old Leacock Road, one fourth mile south of Gordonville, mailing address: 176 North Hollander Road, Gordonville, PA 17529

Saskatchewan Mennonite Historical Society, Dick H. Epp, 2326 Cairns Avenue, Saskatoon, SK S7J 1V1

Shenadoah Valley Mennonite Historians, Laban Peachey, R 10, Box 206, Harrisonburg, VA 22801 703 833-5131

Stark County Mennonite and Amish Historical Society, Elmer S. Yoder, 3511 Edison Street NE, Hartsville, OH 44632 216 877-9566

Southeast Mennonite Conference, Martin W. Lehman, conference historian, 765 Dean Avenue, Sarasota, FL 34237 813 366-3381

South Central Conference Historian, Bernice L. Hostetler, R 2, Box 77, Harper, KS 67058 316 896-2040

Swiss Community Historical Society, Keith Sommer, Box 5, Bluffton, OH 45817

Swiss Heritage Society, Claren Neuenschwander, 805 W. Van Buren, Berne, IN 219 587-2784

Virginia Conference Historical Committee, James O. Lehman, Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, VA 22801 703 432-4170

Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups, Donald B. Kraybill, Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, PA 17022 717 367-1151

Western District Conference Historical Committee, James Juhnke, 104 W. 26th Street, North Newton, KS 67117 316 283-1236 

Letters of the Amish Vision

By John E. Sharp

Amish Society, Fourth Edition.

John A. Hostetler. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. 435. \$14.95 (paper), \$45.00 (hardcover).

The Amish and the State.

Edited by Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. 333. \$14.95 (paper), \$45.00 (hardcover).

Letters of the Amish Division:

A Sourcebook. Edited by John D. Roth. Goshen: Mennonite Historical Society. 1993. Pp. 162. \$11.95.

The three hundredth anniversary of the 1693 Amish-Mennonite division was also the year in which a trio of excellent books on the Amish were released. All three are major contributions to the study and understanding of the Amish.

Several times a year I teach an Elderhostel course at Laurelville entitled "Amish, Mennonites and the World." These over-sixties students of life travel from all corners of the U.S. and Canada because they are still eager to learn; in this case they want to learn about the Amish and Mennonites. When I introduce Elderhostelers to the Amish world, I point out the essential books on the topic.

I begin, of course, with John A. Hostetler's **Amish Society** as the basic text. Hostetler is the recognized expert for any student of the Amish. Now his **Amish Society** is available in a new, improved edition. In the preface to this fourth edition, Hostetler promises that the best of the third edition remains, but declares that "not a single chapter remains the same." This new addition "was made necessary by changes in Amish society, by new discoveries from research, and by changes in my own point of view" (viii). Indeed, he has consulted 88 new sources published since 1980.

Added to the previous edition are



Ruth Hollinger and Elaine Shertz of Goshen, Indiana, presented *Keeping House*, to overflow crowds this past Winter. The two-person drama on the Amish beginnings premiered in the Christian Sutter barn, now on the premises of the Mennonite Heritage Center near Metamora, Illinois, on October 15, 1993. Other performances followed in Elkhart County, Indiana: at Goshen College on February 13, and at Menno-Hof in Shipshewana on February 20. The script was written by Steven Nolt, author of *A History of the Amish* (Good Books, 1992). Photo: Suzanne Bishop

sections on quilting (p.165), and "Amish Lawyering" (p.275). New research on hereditary diseases, mental illness, and powwowing has been incorporated into the text. The fragmenting effects of increased tourism and development on land prices, occupational choices, and migration are examined.

Some material has been rearranged. For example, in chapter 18, *The Amish View of the Future*, which begins the chapter in the third edition, has been placed last in the fourth edition. The final section of the book, "Attitudes Toward Seekers," is deleted. The "Amish as a Model" has been added.

Chapter 4, "The Amish Charter," which describes their basic values, core beliefs, worldview, self-assessment, and "organizing principles" has been rewritten and greatly improved.

Hostetler succeeds in presenting the Amish as human beings with strengths and weaknesses, and as a people who demonstrate "a different form of modernity." He does not describe them as museum pieces from

a distant past, nor as "the only honest Christians left in the modern world." Indeed, they teach us "something of the human cost when old values are cast away, when parents are alienated from children, when neighbors are treated as strangers, and when man (*sic*) is separated from his spiritual tradition" (ix).

The cover has changed from a rare photograph of a Nebraska Amish woman sharing a playful moment with a child in the last edition, to a Bill Coleman still-life photo of three well-worn(!) Amish hats and a coat hanging from pegs on a plain wall.

The book is slightly larger than its predecessor, printed on better paper, and is attractively designed. The back cover carries accolades from respected sources. The **Philadelphia Inquirer**, cites this volume as "the definitive book on one of America's most misunderstood communities." The **Journal of American History** declares it to be "in a class by itself."

Christianity Today calls this "the best single book available on the Amish."

Given these superlative commen-

dations, the author's reading of more than a dozen rejection notices from publishers when he was first tried to get his work in print was humorous. Hostetler read these notices to a gleeful crowd of 300 at a banquet honoring Hostetler's work at the Amish conference at Elizabethtown College last summer.

Elderhostelers will also profit from a second new book: **The Amish and the State**, edited by Donald B. Kraybill. Selected as one of the outstanding academic books published in 1993, this collection of essays is dedicated to John A. Hostetler, "champion of religious liberty."

The cover photo immediately signals the subject of the book—the Amish and the state in conflict. Three Amishmen are approaching the U.S. Supreme Court building to hear debate in the famous Wisconsin v. Yoder case in 1972.

Kraybill prefaces this collection of essays with a chapter "Negotiating with Caesar." In his characteristically descriptive language that readers of his **The Riddle of Amish Culture** have come to expect, he sets the historical, social, and political context of Amish conflict with the state. According to Kraybill many of the feuds between the Amish and the state involve fundamental clashes between very distinct social orders.

Kraybill writes: "Anchored on opposing values and differing social structures, these duels are essentially face-offs between the Goliath of modernity and shepherds from traditional pastures. These conflicts of conviction, ostensibly religious in nature, mark a collision of cultures—an encounter between the forces of modernity and the sentiments of tradition. Negotiating with Caesar is, in essence, negotiating with modernity" (17).

Paton Yoder wrote chapter two, "The Amish View of the State." In addition to the editor's introductory chapter, and Paton Yoder's chapter on "The Amish View of the State," the remaining eleven essays included in this collection explore the major conflicts between the Amish and the state in the last 50 years.

Among the most publicized of these conflicts is the 1972 Supreme Court case Wisconsin vs. Yoder.

William B. Ball, an expert in constitutional law and religion, successfully led the defense for the Amish. Ball has written chapter 13 on significant cases involving the Amish and their implications for the future of religious freedom for any group.

In chapter six William C. Lindholm tells how he, a Lutheran minister, organized the National Committee for Amish Religious Freedom. Since its formation in 1967, the National Committee has given legal assistance and council to the Amish on many occasions, most notably Wisconsin vs. Yoder. Lindholm concludes that the Committee's efforts on behalf of the Amish have "helped to preserve the freedom for all religious minorities to practice their religious faith."

Other essays include "Military Service and Conscription" by Al Keim, "The National Amish Steering Committee" by Marc Olshan, "Education and Schooling" by Tom Meyers, "Social Security and Taxes" by Peter Ferrara, "Slow-moving Vehicles" by Lee Zook, "Health Care" by Gertrude Enders Huntington, "Land Use" by Elizabeth Place, "The Role of Outsiders" by Robert Kidder, and "Canadian Government Relations" by Dennis L. Thomson.

The appendix to this valuable collection of essays summarizes 33 significant legal cases involving the Amish.

The third book will be of the most interest to the Amish themselves or to Mennonites and serious students who are interested in the debates that sparked the Amish movement.

Letters of the Amish Division: A Sourcebook edited by John D. Roth is an important new translation of a collection of letters which focus on the 1693 division. These letters were written by the actors involved on both sides of the drama, and by others who later reflected on these tumultuous events.

Five of the letters written between 1693 and 1711 were written from the reform-minded point of view, three of them from Jacob Ammann himself. Twelve letters pointedly oppose Ammann's attempts to reform the church. An additional 1720 letter by Ulli Ammann, originally a strong supporter of Jacob Ammann and apparently reconciled to the Mennonite church, counsels the Markirch congre-

gation on resolving its conflicts.


The final document, written by Niklaus Wutrich a century after the schism, makes a case for discipline without shunning by reviewing Anabaptist and Mennonite history.

Additional documents in the appendix include excerpts from the 1632 Dordrecht Confession, a 1660 statement signed by Alsatian ministers and deacons, acknowledging their acceptance of the Dordrecht Confession, and a lengthy heartfelt prayer attributed to Hans Reist.

Roth brings a scholar's expertise to the translation of these documents that were previously translated by John B. Mast and published in 1950 by Christian J. Schlabach. Roth used a transcription of the unpolished manuscripts which "retained the rough-hewn grammar and dialect usage which must have been closest to the originals." When a choice was necessary between a smooth reading and a rougher, more literal translation, he tried to "faithfully reproduce the content and style of the manuscript version" (vi).

Perhaps as useful as the letters themselves is the enlightening introduction setting the letters in their historical, religious, and cultural context. Geography, persecution, migration and new converts who challenged traditional assumptions had more to do with the controversy than did "Jacob Ammann's stubborn personality or Hans Reist's dismissive arrogance" (13).

Roth lists six key issues of the controversy plus commentary on each: shunning, offenses calling for church discipline, the salvation of the Truehearted, procedures in church discipline, foot washing, and frequency of communion.

Rather than fixing blame, Roth's summary paragraph gives this painful story a human context and a pastoral touch: this "is a story of resolve and faith, of human frailty and sin. In the end, it is a story which leaves ample room on every side for God's forgiveness and grace" (18). 

John E. Sharp of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, has recently been appointed director of the Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church



George Jay Lapp (1879-1951) at age 14. Born at Juniata, Nebraska, he lived in Nebraska until leaving for higher education and an outstanding career of foreign mission service in India (1905-1945). Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church. George J. Lapp collection



Daniel G. Lapp (1867-1951) and Ida Good Lapp on Ida's seventy-fifth birthday. Daniel Lapp was pastor of the Roseland congregation in Nebraska for 48 years, and was a widely traveled bishop who served on a number of church-wide committees and boards. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church. George J. Lapp collection

Nebraska Mennonite Historical Society

By Eldon Hostetler

The first Amish-Mennonite settler to arrive in Nebraska was Jacob Rocke (Roggey), a Civil War veteran who left Illinois to take advantage of the new Homestead Act. He entered a land claim in Lancaster County at Hickman (near Lincoln) in 1869.

Before 1860, this region was best known to Europeans as Indian and buffalo country, or for the great Platte River routes used by settlers in heading west. The majority of the first European settlers arrived in a twenty-year period from 1866 to 1886.

For many years Nebraska was considered a part of the Great American Desert—land not good enough to grow trees or farm. The last Amish-Mennonite family arrived in 1893. The settlement never became a mature Amish-Mennonite community. Amish-Mennonite family names represented included Ehrismann, Brenneman, and Stahly.

In 1871, Bishop Henry Yother moved from Illinois and settled near Blue Springs in Gage County. Yother was never officially connected with any one congregation, but spent much of his time ministering to the needs of newly arriving Mennonite settlers in Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. Yother assisted in organizing many of the earlier congregations in all three states.

The first permanent Amish-Mennonite settlement was established west of Milford in Seward County in 1873. In 1874, 35 Mennonite families of Dutch descent, newly arrived from southern Russia, settled 40 miles west of Milford near Henderson in York County. By 1876 a large party of Prussian Mennonites were buying farms in Gage County in the Beatrice and Jansen vicinity, about 50 miles south of Milford.

These three settlements formed the core of the early Nebraska Mennonite experience. Since 1875 Amish- or Mennonite-related churches were organized in 32 Nebraska communi-

ties. Several had churches of more than one variety, while others had several congregations of the same variety. At one time Mennonite varieties included General Conference, Mennonite Church, Mennonite Brethren, Mennonite Brethren In Christ, Defenseless Mennonite (Egli), Central Illinois Conference (Stucky), Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, Kleine Gemeinde, Church of God In Christ (Holderman), and Amish.

Today many of these churches are extinct, while others no longer use the name. Today approximately 3,000 Nebraska church members still call themselves "Mennonite," with the General Conference group claiming the largest number.

A comprehensive history of the Mennonite experience in Nebraska has never been published, although the General Conference-related churches have already chronicled their pilgrimage. The Henderson churches published an excellent book **From Holland to Henderson** in 1974, revising and enlarging the work in 1981. Beatrice-area Mennonites published their story, **God's Love in Action**, in connection with their centennial in 1867. The Salem congregation members (MC), located near Shickley, recently published their story, **Salem Mennonite Church**, when they celebrated their centennial in 1991. Other congregations have published smaller pamphlet-type histories.

During several visits I had with Leonard Gross, he hinted that very little was being done to record the Amish-Mennonite story in our state. In December of 1989, Leonard spent several days with me in the Milford community interviewing older residents. On that occasion 13 people from Lincoln, Shickley, and Milford gathered at the Bellwood church (with Leonard as resource person) to organize the Nebraska Mennonite



Officers of the Nebraska Mennonite Historical Society: L. Bernetta Erb, vice-president; Eldon Hostetler, president; R. Esther Kempf, secretary-treasurer. Peg Burkey is co-editor of the *Nebraska Mennonite Historical Newsletter*.

Historical Society.

We felt our first task was to encourage our people to become more interested in their Mennonite heritage and history. Due to a history of divisions (five in the Milford community alone), many were skeptical of uncovering some of the unpleasant events that happened years ago. We began by publishing stories of little known positive events that happened in our Mennonite communities, including early Nebraska missionary stories. In cooperation with General Conference historians, historical displays were set up at our annual relief sale held in Aurora.

Another positive event occurred in September of 1992 when 90 people gathered at East Fairview church to share with John A. Hostetler and Beulah Stauffer Hostetler of Willow Grove, Pennsylvania. John A. showed the film *A People of Preservation* and answered questions about Amish beliefs and practices. Beulah, who has Milford roots, shared with us about our own early connections with the Amish church. Events like these have helped stimulate interest in our Mennonite heritage. We also wish to express our thanks to the Iowa Mennonite Historical Society, who so generously shared with us in many ways.

At present the society has about 42 members on our rolls, with the majority from states other than Nebraska. Membership is \$7.00 a year (Esther Kempf, secretary, 213 North Cherry, Shickley, NB 68436). A surprising number of members from other states tell us they too had Amish-Mennonite roots in Nebraska. Many of these persons are now asking questions as well as sharing valuable data. The society's goal is to eventually publish a complete story of the Nebraska Amish-Mennonite pilgrimage, including those from the Egil, Stucky, and Holderman branches. This would include the stories of 15 Mennonite missionaries who served in the continent of Asia before 1940.

One handicap is that our forebears were not too concerned about keeping records. Two congregations have good records; others have none. We are busy gathering and storing any records and data that will help complete this story. Since we are one of the newer organizations on the Mennonite historical scene, at this time we have no permanent library or storage spot. Some of our valuable records are stored in Kalona, Iowa, or Goshen, Indiana. Other records are stored in homes in Milford or Shickley.

The society publishes a historical

newsletter twice each year, and at this point the attempt is to make it more interesting than scholarly. Several researchers are capable of answering questions about relatives who at one time lived in our state, and we invite questions as well as any information about the Nebraska Mennonite heritage. *L*

Eldon Hostetler can be reached at 1014 First Street, Milford, NB 68405 402 761-3072.

News and Notes

A Swedish publisher KAB Konsult AB has secured rights from Herald Press to publish **The Complete Writings of Menno Simons** and the nine volumes of the Classics of the Radical Reformations series on CD-ROM and floppy disk for personal computers. This series of primary source works of Anabaptist figures is published under the direction of the Institute of Mennonite Studies in Elkhart, Indiana.

Glenn Lehman of Harmonies Workshop (34 West Eby Road, Leola, PA 17540) has made a cassette recording of an Old Order Mennonite family singing from the 1804

Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch.

Lehman has also made a recording of his musical based on nineteenth-century Mennonite singing, *Menno Heirs*. The cassettes cost \$12 each.

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage, the illustrated quarterly journal of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, devoted its entire April 1994, issue to Mennonite and Brethren hymnology. Editor David J. Rempel Smucker used the occasion to review **Hymnal: A Worship Book** (1992) and the history of Mennonite and Brethren hymnody.

The Anabaptist Vision is being published in two Spanish editions this year according to Paul M. Schrock of Herald Press. There are 22,500 in print in English. Ediciones Semilla in Guatemala will publish an edition for pastoral training, and the Mennonite Brethren in Paraguay are publishing an edition of Harold S. Bender's clas-

sic statement.

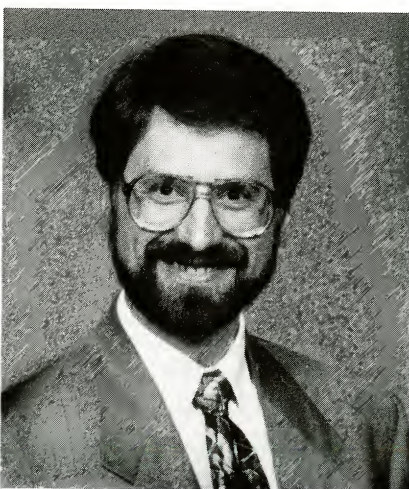
"Whither the Anabaptist Vision?" a conference organized by Donald Kraybill, attracted over 200 people at Elizabethtown College, June 13-16. The conference included scholars reading about 25 papers on the past and future of The Anabaptist Vision. But beyond descriptive analysis, the conference had a pastoral and inspirational dimension which included prayers, hymnsinging, and sermon addresses by Phyllis Pellman Good, editor of *Festival Quarterly*, and John D. Roth of Goshen College.

A second major Harold S. Bender Anabaptist Vision conference is planned for October 13-15, 1994, at Goshen College in Indiana. Speakers include Franklin H. Litell, Vincent Harding, and Mario Higueros. Numerous papers will be presented. Further information or a brochure on "Anabaptist Vision(s) in the 20th Century: Ideas and Outcomes," can be secured from Albert Keim, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, VA 22801. Telephone 703 433-0543.

The Menno Simons Historical Library at Eastern Mennonite College and Seminary has announced plans to offer an annual scholarship for researchers. The Harry Anthony Brunk Scholars' Award will provide \$2,000 to allow the recipient to spend time in the Menno Simons Historical Library for research leading to publication or other creative production. Information and application forms are available from the Menno Simons Library, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, VA 22801; 703 432-4177.

John D. Thiesen, archivist for the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas, noted that institution added 168 cubic feet of new archival material during the 1993-94 year. Thiesen also edits the book review section of *Mennonite Life*, the quarterly of Bethel College Library and Archives.

The Kidron, Ohio, community celebrated its 175th anniversary, July 15-17, 1994, with the dedication and opening of the Kidron-Sonnenberg Heritage Center and the release of several publications. The heritage center is located in a two-story 40-foot by 80-foot block building in the



John E. Sharp


center of Kidron village and is sponsored by the Kidron Community Historical Society. Stanley A. Kaufman, curator, has exhibits on the early Swiss Mennonite settlers, handcrafts of the Sonnenberg community, and community life. James O. Lehman's *Sonnenberg: A Haven and a Heritage* was reprinted as well as new publications issued: a decorative arts volume, a business history, and a coloring book. Wayne Liechty is president of the Kidron Community Historical Society (Box 234, Kidron, OH 44636 216 857-9111).

John E. Sharp, a minister from Scottdale, Pennsylvania, has been named the new director of the Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church, effective in the summer of 1995. For the past five years, Sharp has served as Allegheny Conference historian and as pastor of the Mennonite Church of Scottdale. Among Sharp's duties will be to give editorial direction to the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*. Levi Miller will continue to serve part-time as director until the end of the year, and Steven Reschly will serve until Sharp's arrival next summer.

Corrections: "War, Peace, and 'Coals of Fire,'" April 1994, *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, page 10, column 3, sentence 2, should read: "We walked through the Goshen College campus, crossed Main street at Eger's farm (now the location of Newcomer Center), and followed the

cowpath past Gunden's barn and into the woods."

"Americanism, Pro-Germanism, and Conscientious Objectors during World War I," January 1994, *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, page 4, column 2, footnote 5. Rhoda Benner Hertzler of Harrisonburg, Virginia, wrote that her father, Preacher Rhine W. Benner (1889-1974) "was ordained to the the Christian ministry on May 19, 1916, at Lindale Church, Virginia Mennonite Conference. In August, 1918 he was arrested and placed in jail in Elkins, West Virginia, for three days." (See Brunk, *History of Mennonites in Virginia 1900-1960*, p. 197.)

Gerlof D. Homan responds: "I am sorry I did not clarify my comments in footnote 5. I was referring to 'national' leaders such as Aaron Loucks and Henry Krehbiel who often angered and irritated federal officials by defending Mennonite concerns and interests. At one time the federal government was considering Loucks's arrest. I know that a small number of Mennonites, such as your father, were arrested and imprisoned. I am familiar with your father's case and have discussed it in my forthcoming book (*American Mennonites and the Great War*). Thank you very much for your letter." 

The Experience of Mennonite Women

*A meeting of conference committees, historians, and
Mennonite heritage interpreters*

October 20-22, 1994

The Meeting House, Harleysville, Pennsylvania

October 20 THURSDAY

- 7:00 Welcome, worship. The experience of Franconia women, Mary Jane Hershey

October 21 FRIDAY

- 9:00 Worship, Joanne Hess Siegrist
Address: Rereading Mennonite history with a woman's eyes, Marlene Epp
11:00 What's happening in our societies and conferences: reports from the provinces
12:00 Lunch*
1:00 Introduction to the MeetingHouse, Joel Alderfer and Carolyn Nolan
2:30 Bus tour of Franconia Conference historical sites, John L. Ruth and Joel Alderfer
6:00 Dinner* at a historic site
7:30 Conference and congregational record collection and preservation, Carolyn C. Wenger and Hope Kauffman Lind

October 22 SATURDAY

- 9:00 Worship, Louise Stoltzfus
Address: Gender theory and Mennonite congregational history, Kimberly Schmidt
11:00 Seminar options
Fundraising and promotion, Arlin Lapp
Conference historian's role, John Sharp
MC-GC cooperation or merger, John Thiesen
12:00 Lunch*
1:00 Panel: Collecting and preserving with a view to gender, Ann Hilty, Sam Steiner, Dennis Stoesz
2:30 Wrap-up
3:00 Closing meditation, Donella Clemens

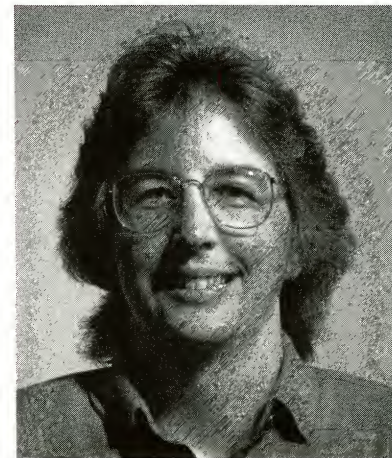
*Common meals

Sponsored by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania.

Registration costs are \$40.00 per person and include the common meals of the conference and the bus tour. Private homes are available for lodging or a Holiday Inn and Days Inn are within three miles. Send registration to Carolyn Nolan, The MeetingHouse, PO Box 82, 565 Yoder Road, Harleysville, PA 19438 215 256-3020



*Joanne Hess Siegrist, author of
Lancaster County Mennonite
Women*




*Louise Stoltzfus, director of People's
Place Art Gallery*



*Donella Clemens, chair of Mennonite
Church General Board*



'Going Places'

Deborah R. Weaver, Lori Hartman Keiser, and Elizabeth Weaver Kreider performed as Zimmerman family members in Merle Good's drama "Going Places," July 27-31, 1993, at the Philadelphia Convention Center. The performances, in conjunction with the meetings of Mennonite General Assembly, presented three "snapshots" of a fictional Lancaster Mennonite family. Following a family from 1969 to 1989, the play mirrored the struggles, hopes, and choices of Lancaster Mennonites. This summer, August 11-14 and 18-21, the play is performed at the Fine Arts Center of Lancaster Mennonite High School. The play is directed by Kenneth Pellman. 

Mennonite Historical Bulletin

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Byers and the Hartzlers: A Long Influence on Higher Education



In 1903, a crowd of 150 gathered in a wheat field south of Goshen, Indiana, for a groundbreaking ceremony for the main building of the Mennonite Church's first liberal arts college. This structure still survives as the Administration Building of Goshen College. Al Albright of Goshen College's Mennonite Historical Library identified some of the participants. First row, seated fifth and sixth: Abraham P. Hess and M. C. Lehman. Second row kneeling: C. K. Hostetler, _____, _____, Jonathan Kurtz, H. F. Reist, _____, John E. Hartzler, Rudy Zenger, _____, R. R. Ebersole (?), _____, _____, Christian Blosser. Third row, men standing in center hatless: John H. Blosser, C. Henry Smith, _____, Jonas S. Hartzler, and Anthony Deahl (with bow tie). Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Susan Fisher Miller

Founded in 1894 in Elkhart, Indiana, the institution of higher learning that became Goshen College was the first such school to be established by members of the (Old) Mennonite Church. In 1994, the year of its centennial, Goshen College continues to be owned and operated by the Mennonite Church.

From its beginning, Goshen College has absorbed the influences both of its sponsoring church and its surrounding American society—influences at times compatible, at others contradic-

tory. The college's most direct influences have been those of its administrators, faculty, and students, the people who have shaped its identity day by day. In 1925, John E. Hartzler, a recent past president of Goshen College, wrote that "the story of this school would read like a novel had one the time and space . . . to relate it."

Partial to melodrama and the grand gesture himself, Hartzler no doubt wrote that line with an eye to his own dynamic role in the college's history. But in comparing Goshen College history to a novel, Hartzler had also perceptively indicated how essential to

Goshen's development have been its various constituents' character and personality.

The three early associates from Goshen College history presented here—the coolly rational intellectual N. E. Byers, the effusive performer J. E. Hartzler, and the modest, mediating churchman J. S. Hartzler—in their own time contributed their complementary qualities to shape a school's emerging personality. As Goshen College enters its second century, these pioneers, and their many faithful successors, continue to leave their emblematic traces.

Noah Ebersole Byers

Though he did not realize it in 1896, a young native of Illinois named Noah Ebersole Byers was being carried toward John S. Coffman and the Elkhart Institute. Byers merits special attention in a study of Mennonite higher education. In his early experience are united many of the ingredients that distinguished the pioneering years of the entire movement: exceptional natural intelligence and personal motivation, a family supportive of education, a progressive home congregation that had provided the occasion for an evangelical conversion to the Mennonite faith, wide exposure to culture at the university and participation there in a broader Protestant milieu, experience and interest in teaching as such, and a commitment to Christian service. Furthermore, Byers had a large part in guiding the Mennonite educational movement, beginning in 1898 when he arrived at Elkhart Institute as principal and continuing as Goshen College's first president from 1903 to 1913. He exerted a remarkably long influence in Mennonite higher education. As the seventy-year-old Byers himself observed in 1954 at a Goshen College anniversary program, he had left Goshen College in 1913 but his former pupils kept cropping up there as professors, deans, and presidents.

Even Goshen's new president in 1954, Paul Miner, Byers noted with some delight, was the son of Byers' former Elkhart Institute pupil, Hettie Kulp Miner. In 1952 Byers had written, "I was in close touch with Goshen, Bethel, and Bluffton during this [fifty-two year] period. Students



Noah E. and Emma LeFevre Byers with their son Floyd in 1902 or 1903. Byers' early experience united many of the ingredients that distinguished the pioneering years of Mennonite higher education: exceptional natural intelligence, a supportive family, evangelical conversion to the Mennonite faith, wide exposure to the university culture, an interest in teaching, and a commitment to Christian service. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

of mine were on the faculties of these colleges most of the time. . . . At this writing the presidents of these three colleges, as well as the president of Mennonite Biblical Seminary [i.e., the seminary of the General Conference Mennonite Church], were former students of mine."

The role Byers played in the story of Goshen College was at the same time emblematic and exceptional. The fortuitous results of Byers' arrival at the Elkhart Institute in 1898 tempt one to suggest that, like northern Indiana Mennonites and their secondary school, Byers and the Institute were destined to find one another. On the other hand, some aspects of Byers' experience made it unlikely that they ever would.

The sustaining link between Noah Byers and Elkhart was J. S. Coffman.

In 1889, John S. Coffman conducted the first evangelistic meetings at Byers' church, Science Ridge, several miles north of Sterling, Illinois. Prior to the publication of John F. Funk's *Herald of Truth* and visits by Funk himself to the Science Ridge pulpit, Byers wrote, his congregation had been "formal and lifeless." When Coffman arrived at Science Ridge for a series of meetings, the congregation, having never held an evening service, had to improvise lighting in the dark meeting house.

"I remember . . . several oil lamps were placed on the pulpit and window sills and some of the members held lighted candles so as to be able to read the hymns," Byers stated, recalling the event. Against that backdrop of shadows and soft light, Coffman led forty or so people to join the church. Noah

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Byers, a high school student at the time, was among them.

Byers' next encounter with Coffman occurred when Coffman traveled through Illinois churches selling Elkhart Institute stock, probably during the summer of 1895 as Byers was preparing to teach a year in a local schoolhouse himself. Byers and his brother obliged Coffman by purchasing a couple of shares, something Byers would joke about as a past president of Goshen College.

Teaching in his home community throughout 1895-1896, Byers likely would have had access to news of the Institute's February opening exercises, or at least to the text of "The Spirit of Progress" printed in the Young People's Paper that spring. For his part, Coffman, who famously retained in his memory the names and situations of the young people he had converted, and had trained his eye on educational developments among young Mennonites, surely was keeping tabs on Noah Byers.

Like C. Henry Smith, his fellow rural son of Illinois, Noah Byers enjoyed family circumstances and a native intelligence that allowed him aggressively to pursue higher education at a time when most of his Mennonite peers cast their lot with farm work. Byers, to be sure, had extensive experience by an early age with the latter, since his father, John J. Byers, had died when Noah was an infant. Before he turned sixteen, he was managing the 150-acre farm of his widowed mother, Esther Ebersole Byers—"good training for executive ability," Byers discovered later. He had to leave the East Science Ridge school prematurely each spring to tend the farm, but though delayed until age sixteen in taking the eighth grade Central Examination, Byers stood out as one of the few in the district to pass the test.

Two Ebersole uncles had been permitted to attend the Sterling high school by their minister father, Abram Ebersole. Noah Byers emulated the uncles and was assisted and encouraged by his mother to complete the high school course. He followed his graduation with nine months of rural school teaching of the eight grades. Byers' next step, according to the pat-

terns of the time, quite plausibly could have steered him into the Methodist fold or beyond. In September 1894, he enrolled at Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, a Methodist-founded institution north of Chicago, matriculating as a premedical student in its College of Arts and Sciences about two weeks before the Elkhart Institute opened its single rented classroom.

If Sterling high school had offered a few faint intimations of American college life, Northwestern University revealed the genuine article. Extracurricular activity abounded under the overarching banners of Northwestern's purple and white: religious associations, Greek fraternities, literary societies, mandolin clubs, tennis games, class competitions. A sophomore discoursing breezily on student traditions in the university annual *The Syllabus* for 1894-1895 opined that any freshman failing by the end of the year to have joined a single organization should be shot. (The university apparently frowned upon too-strenuous attempts to goad new students into joining up: college officials in 1894 required incoming students to sign an honor-bound pledge "to abstain from cane-rushes and all forms of hazing" while connected with the University). Byers joined up.

He joined the Hinman literary society, the university's oldest. He joined the library association. He joined his classmates in their class yell:

Rah-la-ka-hi! Kalloo!

Zip-boom! Ba-la-boom! N! U!

Ninety-Eight!

He joined the YMCA. Elected treasurer in his junior year, he thus garnered the campus prestige of a YMCA executive officer. Association with the YMCA meant trips to the national organization's day annual conference held every summer at campgrounds on Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. It was there in the summer of 1897 that Byers first encountered C. Henry Smith, traveling as local president-elect with his own YMCA group from Illinois State Normal School.

Smith remembered his initial impression of Byers as that of a man-about-campus: "I first saw him in one corner of the car on the train out from Chicago to Lake Geneva with a group of Northwestern students wearing lit-

tle purple caps and diminutive purple ties, entertaining the rest of us with their college songs and yells."

On a matriculation form inquiring, "What church will you attend in Evanston?" Byers entered no response.

Yet Byers' college life was taken up with religious activities, many of them shared with his grandly-named roommate, Burton Little St. John, a high school classmate from Sterling. St. John, destined after graduation to become personal secretary to the world missions leader John R. Mott, and eventually a missionary to China himself, was an English major planning to enter the ministry.

He had preached briefly in the Sterling Methodist-Episcopal Church even before leaving home. At Northwestern, St. John became president of the Volunteer Band, a branch of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions—the influential crusade whose optimistic slogan was "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." While Byers did not become a member of the Volunteer Band, he stayed in touch with its activities through St. John, cultivating a plan to become a medical foreign missionary.

He attended the Lake Geneva YMCA conference twice, and in 1898 attended as a delegate the Quadrennial Volunteer Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio. Some Sundays he rode into the city to teach Sunday school at the new Mennonite Home Mission, where his uncle Dr. S. D. Ebersole worked.

In the course of his college career, Byers grew more interested in the missionary part of his professional plan, less in the medical.

The field of education began to draw him. He interrupted his residence at Northwestern in 1895-1896 to teach rural school at home. That absence necessitated catch-up work; for this he attended summer terms at the University of Chicago. Courses at Chicago in history, English literature, philosophy, and pedagogics stirred Byers' interest in the liberal arts. Back at Northwestern, he took courses in Logic and the History of Philosophy with Professor Coe, but continued to log laboratory hours in University Hall pursuing what would remain his

major undergraduate field, zoology.

In his final year, Byers enrolled under zoology professor Conklin for a course called Studies in Organic Evolution, described in the University catalog as "lectures on the history of the evolution idea and the evidences and factors of organic evolution." In June 1898, the Northwestern senior class graduated amid pomp and circumstance in Chicago's new Auditorium Theater.

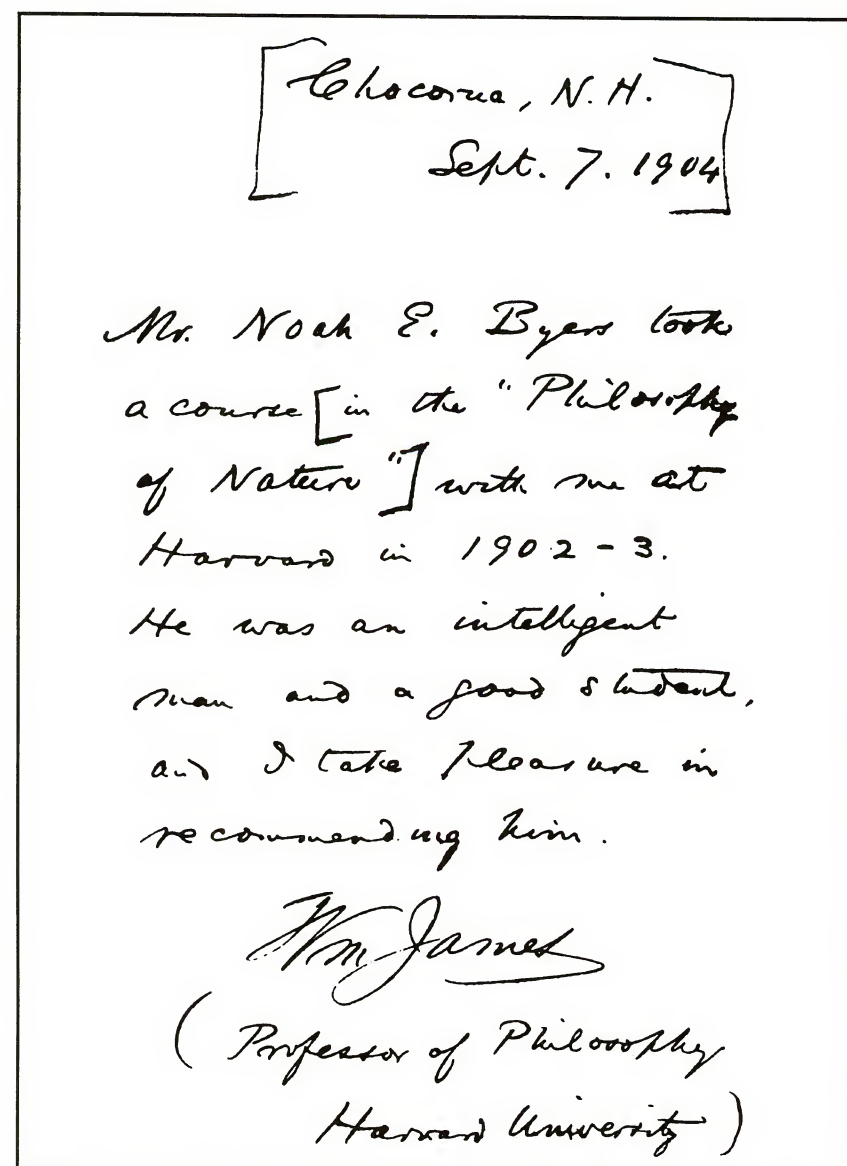
One month later, Noah Byers was married to Emma Dora LeFevre, a fellow Mennonite from Sterling. He had concluded his college studies expecting to volunteer as a foreign missionary teacher. Yet by August 15, Noah Byers had become the principal of the Elkhart Institute, no further afield from familiar moorings than at the head of a small northern Indiana school planted directly opposite a Mennonite church. At a second important crossroads in Byers' life, J. S. Coffman had again played a significant role.

As President of the Board, Coffman successfully wooed Byers to the Elkhart Institute by depicting the school's development as a mission activity of high calling. Through his YMCA and Student Volunteer contacts, Byers had already become convinced that foreign mission must depend on Christian, college-educated workers. Building on that conviction, Coffman persuaded Byers that the Institute, properly directed, could serve Christ by educating Mennonite missionaries.

Byers apparently saw providential symmetry in the fact that his personal and vocational conversions had both been effected by Coffman, writing that "this prophet who led me into the Christian life and the Mennonite church now gave me the opportunity of starting on my career not as a missionary but as a teacher of missionaries."

There was logic in Byers' acceptance of Elkhart's offer even beyond Coffman's arguments. It was true, as Byers pointed out later, that he was "the only one in this group who was a college graduate and had teaching experience."

To the institution's good fortune, however, his aptitude for the job proved to exceed those basic qualifications. He had received academic



Noah E. Byers, first president of Goshen College, studied with some of the best teachers in American higher education. Philosopher William James wrote the above recommendation for Byers in 1904. The original copy is among Byers' presidential papers in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

preparation in superior institutions. He had been trained in extracurricular activities to become an effective public man in the affairs of his time. His manner with students commanded loyalty and respect.

And he was something of a reformer. Before entering high school, Byers had read Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, a late nineteenth-century socialist utopian novel, calling it his "first thought-provoking book." "I think it influenced me for the rest of

my life to be more critical of the present order and more sympathetic to progressive ideas," Byers wrote.

In addition to these reasons for going to Elkhart, Byers' new wife had a tie to the school. Emma LeFevre Byers had attended the Institute during her future husband's time at Northwestern, graduating in June 1898. Thus in the fall of 1898, guided toward Elkhart by various signs, Byers assumed the office of principal. He was twenty-five years old.

Jonas S. Hartzler

Bible instructor and college secretary Jonas S. Hartzler was a notable exception to the dominant faculty type. Hartzler was in fact a minister and church worker, not yet superannuated nor outworn in 1903, though nearing 50. His service to the institution from beginning to end was comprehensive.

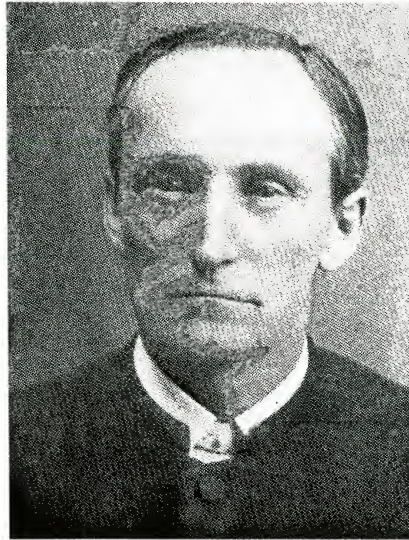
He had taken part in the preliminary discussions for Elkhart Institute and joined its teaching staff in the fall of 1895, moving from his home at the Amish Mennonite community of Hawpatch near Topeka, Indiana, to take up that work. He had solicited extensively to sell Institute stock and to attract Mennonite students.

He had toiled with the Board committee to find a suitable new location. He was enough of a handyman to have been given in the summer of 1903 the oversight of the crews attempting the rapid construction of a campus, two buildings, out of the south Goshen wheat field. Hartzler pitched in on much of the labor.

According to John Umble, Hartzler's activity during that frantic building siege was that of carpenter, mason, bricklayer, hod carrier, architect, contractor, and superintendent. At one juncture the harried Hartzler dismissed a tipping foreman who was unable to remain sober on the job. Meanwhile, Noah Byers was at Harvard, rounding out a year's study to complete a master's degree in philosophy and psychology.

By September 28, 1903, as the first students arrived on the new Goshen campus, Hartzler, Christian K. Hostetler, and Byers too were all carrying boards out of the dining room in North Hall and sweeping aside blocks and shavings (Record, October 15, 1903).

As college secretary working with President Byers at Goshen, J. S. Hartzler, with business manager Hostetler, assumed a large share of responsibility for the school's financial burdens, responsibility which repeatedly placed him at the heart of college-church relations. In these endeavors, the plain-coated Hartzler bridged the old Institute to the new college, and bridged, in his own example, the less-



Jonas (J. S.) Hartzler, the modest and mediating churchman who often looked worried, served Goshen College with loyal anxiety. "But loyal anxiety proved an important anchor among more impatient colleagues given to flights of loyal optimism." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

er-educated, old-style model of minister with that of college administrator and Bible instructor.

In addition to daily college duties, Hartzler became the first minister of the new College Church congregation. In photographs of various significant public events at Goshen, the sober figure of J. S. Hartzler typically appears in the background, looking worried.

Hartzler seemed especially sensitive to the new college's standing in the eyes of communities and congregations far enough away from the campus to rely on reputation and hearsay to inform their views of the institution, rather than on any first-hand experience. J. S. Hartzler understood with a kind of political sixth sense that, telegraphed to a Mennonite community at a great distance from Goshen, Indiana, a subtle change of arrangement in female students' hair or a laughably harmless photograph of student tomfoolery could take on potent symbolic significance with ultimately serious consequences.

From a June 1912 trip to the campus of Bethel College in Kansas, just as Byers was preparing to deliver Bethel's commencement address, Hartzler penned back to Byers that at Bethel he had found greater simplicity in dress.

"The hair are put up so as to have the covering to fit while with us the hair are put up to fit the styles . . . regardless of how the covering fits. . . . They are stricter in their discipline than we are at Goshen," Hartzler concluded plaintively. "A little more rigidity I believe would help us."

It might best be said that J. S. Hartzler, so often of fretful demeanor and tone, served the institution with loyal anxiety. But loyal anxiety proved an important anchor among more impatient colleagues given to flights of loyal optimism.

John Ellsworth Hartzler

One key to understanding "Old Goshen" College's internal contradictions is John (J. E.) Hartzler, the man chosen by the Mennonite Board of Education as Goshen's president following President Byers' 1913 resignation. Hartzler had grown up as a farm boy in East Lynne, Missouri. At age sixteen, he accepted Christ during evangelizing meetings conducted in the Bethel Mennonite congregation by A. D. Wenger, the future president of Eastern Mennonite School, whose swallow-tail coat and colorful necktie, Hartzler wrote at the end of his life, appealed to him. Hartzler had also heard John S. Coffman speak and credited Coffman with inspiring him to become a preacher.

He left his parents' home to attend the Elkhart Institute and Goshen College. In 1910, Hartzler received the first bachelor's degree issued by Goshen College, having in the meantime added course work at Chicago's McCormick Theological Seminary. He conducted further study at Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1909-1910, then served the Elkhart Prairie Street Church as pastor for three years. In 1911, Hartzler was invited to become Dean of the Bible Department at Goshen College. At the time of Hartzler's 1911 hiring as a professor, he was known in the church as an effective, even electrifying, young evangelical preacher. He commanded public attention naturally and committed himself to the ministry at an early age. In 1954, in fact, Hartzler confessed from the podium to his Elkhart Institute principal Noah

Byers, who sat on the platform with him at an anniversary program, that as a student he used to slip away from studies to practice preaching on downtown Elkhart street corners.

A 1910 collection of Hartzler's sermons, entitled *Paths to Perdition*, gives an idea of his early themes. The sermons addressed the sins of lodge membership, saloon and dance hall patronage, and "the modern tobacco evil." In one published sermon, Hartzler even offered an analysis of the lurid depravities of "white slavery," or enforced prostitution. Fellow Missourian and mentor Daniel Kauffman of Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, introduced the book.

During this period J. E. Hartzler made a broad name for himself as a "fire and brimstone" preacher of the fearful Gospel, whose strapping physical stature, booming voice, and overwrought gestures dramatically served his message. By the time he was made college president in 1913, Hartzler also enjoyed credibility as an interpreter of Mennonite doctrine. At editor Daniel Kauffman's invitation, he authored the chapter on salvation that appeared in the authoritative, revised 1914 version of Kauffman's 1898 **Manual of Bible Doctrine**.

The Mennonite Board of Education, furthermore, had approved Hartzler as Bible School dean, and, two years later, as an acceptable successor to the almost unnervingly self-composed intellectual, Noah Byers. But around the same time, due in part to a general backlash of opinion against headlong progressivism, doubts arose and spread among church leaders concerning, not Hartzler the gifted evangelist and preacher, but Hartzler the public man, biblical scholar, and, most vexing to some, Union Theological Seminary graduate.

Contributing to changing perceptions of J. E. Hartzler were what one might call reckless aspects of his personality. His schoolmates knew his voluble side; in 1903 a "Notes and Personals" writer for the new monthly *Goshen College Record* had chattered that Hartzler had taken up summer residence at Hawpatch (near Topeka), "where he is employed as painter. Rest assured that J. E. can put it on" (September 1903).

His flamboyance of expression, paired with his weakness for the



When John (J. E.) Hartzler, the second president of Goshen College, came to teach at the college in 1911, he was known as an "effective, even electrifying, young evangelical preacher." However, this perception changed during his tenure as president. "His flamboyance of expression, paired with his weakness for the impolitic, could cloud basically sound motives and sincere intent." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

impolitic, could cloud basically sound motives and sincere intent. Take, for example, President Hartzler's inability on New Year's Day in 1916 to resist scribbling "Smile!" at the bottom of a fundraising circular addressed to D. D. Miller, a bishop of markedly somber mien.

This extravagant side of J. E. Hartzler revealed itself in portions of his October 1913 inaugural speech. In the press of the ensuing years at Goshen College, an individual facet of character could increasingly overtake and be accepted as, the whole man. Hartzler's inaugural speech ushered in no immediate tempests of controversy.

In fact, Goshen College carried forward from the inauguration a robust optimism that, on some level, sustained the institution through the remainder of a difficult decade. The period prior to Goshen's 1923-1924 closing strikes today's observer with

its modernity, its quality of progressive elation. A fundraising slogan promoted shortly after Hartzler took office, for example, promised "A bigger and better Goshen College." One could hardly invent a figure better suited to enunciate that slogan than the towering, passionate Hartzler.

But a fully rounded portrait of Old Goshen has to come to terms, not only with its expansive optimism, but with the substantial concern it engendered in the broader Mennonite Church. *✍*

Susan Fisher Miller of Evanston, Illinois, is the author of **Culture for Service: A History of Goshen College, 1894-1994** (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College), which was released in October. The above descriptions of early Mennonite educational leaders are excerpted from the book with permission. Documentation appears in the book.

Iowa Mennonite School: Planted in Faith and Fear



The 1939 Kalona High School championship basketball team had five Gingeriches on the court and captured the Iowa community's attention. However, soon after war broke out in Europe with Hitler's armies, and Kalona High School openly encouraged national allegiance and patriotism. Many Mennonites no longer felt they belonged there. Team members were: (back row) Dean Votruba, Marvin Gingerich, Donald Hesselschwerdt, Cletus Yoder, Ned Gingerich, Harlan Gingerich, Robert Swartzendruber, Bert Southwick; (front row) Delmar Guengerich, Kenneth Guengerich, Howard Walker, Delmar Yoder, Floyd Yoder, Frank Ralston.

By Franklin L. Yoder

The March 16, 1939, headline in the Kalona News shouted out the good news: "KALONA TO STATE TOURNNEY." After defeating Bennett and Martinsburg in close contests during the previous week, the "Purple and Gold" upset a favored Yarmouth team, 52-28, in the district finals and gained a berth in the high school boys' state basketball tournament in Des Moines. Following a win against Ellsworth in their first round, Kalona High lost their quarter-final match to a taller Creston team that went on to take the state title.

Even with that loss, Kalona's success was unprecedented in the school's history, and the team cap-

tured the community's attention during its tournament bid. When they had played their first round district game against Bennett, Kalona businesses that normally remained open on Thursday evenings closed early to ensure a good crowd at the Iowa Fieldhouse in Iowa City.

With a team that at one point during the season placed five Gingerichs on the floor, Kalona's success did not go unnoticed among local Mennonites. Of the 13 players on that state tournament team, only four came from non-Mennonite backgrounds. The families of two other players—Robert Swartzendruber and Cletus Yoder—had left Mennonite congregations to join other churches. Of the remaining seven players, Harlan and Ned Gingerich, Delmar

and Kenneth Guengerich, and Delmar and Floyd Yoder grew up in the East Union Mennonite Church while Marvin Gingerich attended Fairview Conservative Mennonite Church.

One year later, people had more than basketball on their minds. In June 1940, Nazi armies crushed France and occupied Paris. Following the French defeat, the Germans turned their full attention to Britain and the Luftwaffe pounded London relentlessly during the remaining months of that year.

Although no one wanted war, most Americans understood that if Hitler's success continued unchecked, and if England fell, the United States stood as the last defense against totalitarianism. Feelings of national loyalty ran higher than at any time since

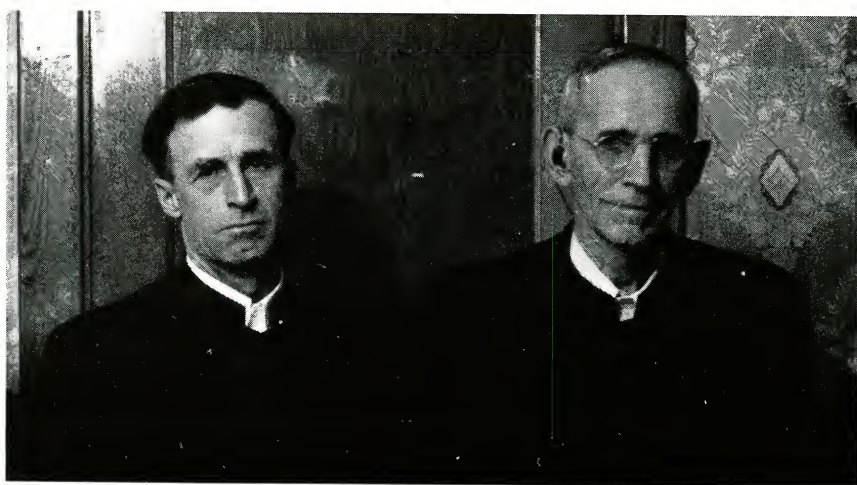
America entered World War I in 1917.

That fall Kalona High School began its school year with a patriotic celebration. After an opening band number, the audience sang "America," followed by a presentation of the flag and the Pledge of Allegiance. Two readings—"The Land and the Flag" and "Americanization for America"—and a short speech followed before the gathering closed with "The Star Spangled Banner." As part of the public educational system, high schools openly encouraged national allegiance and patriotism. With war on the horizon, Kalona High School willingly played its part.

Three years later in May 1943, Center School, a rural Johnson County high school located a few miles north of Joetown, held its final graduation ceremony. Unable to find teachers willing to teach in a small, rural high school, the school board never reopened Center High School. It had not been a large school and like the still common one-room elementary schools, it served a slowly declining local population of mostly farm families. During the first decades of the twentieth century, hundreds of such community high schools opened, but like Center High School, many closed their doors and sent their students to the larger town high schools during the 1940s. By 1950, virtually all of them stood empty or had been converted to other uses.

In sharp contrast to the rural high schools that flourished during the 1920s and 1930s before declining during the 1940s, the farm economy moved along an opposite trajectory. During the 1930s, the Great Depression devastated America's productive power, and it hit farmers especially hard. Hogs sold for as little as three cents a pound. In some areas, farmers burned corn for fuel because the low market price did not justify hauling it to town. Farm foreclosures and tax sales reached unprecedented levels as financially strapped farmers defaulted on mortgage payments and property taxes.

More than any new economic policies, World War II ended the depression and brought prosperity to agriculture. When the fighting disrupted



Ministers John Y. Swartzendruber and Amos Gingerich were the two most important leaders at Iowa Mennonite School's founding 50 years ago. No one carried more weight on the Religious Welfare Board than the strict bishop John Y. Swartzendruber, and educator Amos Gingerich's interest in the school was deeply rooted in a desire to provide educational opportunities for Mennonite young people. Photo: Mennonite Museum and Archives, Kalona, Iowa

European agriculture, production plummeted, demand could not be satisfied, and farm prices in the United States rose steadily after 1940. By the war's end in August 1945, farmers and consumers had money in their pockets for the first time in a long time.

In important ways, the above events, disparate and seemingly unrelated, helped create Iowa Mennonite School. Patriotic displays, such as those in the Kalona High School ceremony, challenged Mennonite's belief that allegiance to God transcended loyalty to a nation, even to a country such as the United States where Mennonites enjoyed unprecedented religious freedom. War always widened the gulf separating these two points of view.

Organized sports programs in the public schools fostered a spirit of competition and rivalry that did not square with a Mennonite emphasis on humility, cooperation, and a caring community. Sports required time for after-school practice, taking student athletes away from evening chores on the farm. In an economic and social system that relied on family labor and hard work, such a trade-off seemed foolhardy and extravagant. And although it would have been unthinkable to raise funds for a Mennonite

high school during the depression period, recent agricultural prosperity removed that particular financial hurdle.

Many Mennonites feared the effect of public schools. Church leaders may have felt less threatened by rural township high schools, such as Center or the Sharon Center High School, six miles to the east, but were more suspicious of the high schools in Kalona and Wellman which many Mennonite teens attended. In the minds of many ministers, day-to-day student contacts in an environment which not only ignored, but sometimes challenged, Mennonite beliefs, threatened to draw Mennonite young people away from the church.

The first documented evidence of widespread interest in a church-sponsored school comes from a February 4, 1944, meeting of the Southeast Iowa Ministerial Board at the Wellman Mennonite Church where Amos Gingerich, a minister at West Union, raised the issue. His comments led to an extended discussion of "the question of the dangers confronting our young people spiritually and morally in the public school." The group elected a committee of John Y. Swartzendruber, bishop of Lower Deer Creek; Amos Gingerich; and Harold Brenneman, minister at East

Union, to study the feasibility of a local Mennonite high school.

When the committee presented their report to a special session of the Ministerial Board six weeks later, they delivered a scathing attack on the public schools, accusing them of banning the Bible and offering "fiction, fable, and fairy tale in its place." Claiming that "highly trained agnostics and worldlings, often immoral and atheistic," replaced a previous group of teachers who placed God at the center of public education, the committee blamed public schools for the high number of Mennonite young people straying from the church and for promoting a "modern athletic craze."

In Kalona where 20 percent of the public high school students were Mennonite, the committee asserted that 98 percent of the boys used tobacco "when with the crowd." The curriculum regularly included movie attendance and class outings produced drunkenness and immorality, all condoned, or at least not discouraged, by faculty members.

Increasing numbers of Mennonite youth dated non-Mennonites. As part of the nationwide mobilization, the public school organized war drives and "the Mennonite boys co-operated 100 percent."

The school's influence extended beyond the classroom: 11 out of 12 Mennonite girls were on public streets with legs bared above the knee and with sleeves above the elbow, and 7 out of 11 wore slacks, used lipstick, and wore jewelry. Public school events competed with church functions for students' time and attention.

The report stated that while Mennonite students regularly attended after school and evening meetings and parties, fewer than 10 of the 27 Mennonites enrolled at Kalona High School came to Sunday evening church services. Sunday school teachers complained of their students' preoccupation with sports and of increasing disrespect for authority. The public schools also encouraged participation in orchestras and bands as well as involvement in political programs, all demanding students' time and loyalty.

After hearing the report, the Southeast Iowa Ministerial Board authorized the Iowa School Committee to lay the groundwork for a Mennonite high school. Facilities were their most immediate concern and one obvious solution lay with the now idle Center High School. After almost a year of negotiating between the ministerial committee and the Center School Board, discussions ended with no agreement. Because of commitments and agreements made when the school was founded, and because of obligations to the State of Iowa, the Center School Board had "no legal right to enter into an agreement for leasing the building for private purposes."

Center High School had always operated as a public, community high school and the Center Board noted that it did not close the school, but the school had simply ceased to function because no teachers could be hired. They had not given up in their search for instructors and if circumstances changed, Center High School would reopen.

Early in the negotiations, in a compromise that might have saved Center High School had it succeeded, the Center School Board offered to hire several Mennonite teachers, proposed that Mennonites serve on an advisory board, and "look[ed] with favor. . . in trying to establish a Bible course as a regular prescribed course of study." The public school board would have retained control and the school would have remained a tax-supported institution. The Iowa School Committee refused this option, stating that such a compromise would "end in disappointment."

The decision not to seriously pursue an agreement with the Center School Board reveals a great deal about the philosophy behind Iowa Mennonite School (IMS) during those early years. The compromise, which some Mennonites favored, did not adequately separate Mennonites from non-Mennonites in the minds of the ministers on the Iowa School Committee. This new institution needed to be more than a hybrid straddling the fence separating two distinct religious and social worlds.

Not all Iowa Mennonites shared this vision of higher education. Just as organizers of IMS feared the influence of secular education, others believed seclusion only made matters worse. Although John Y. Swartzendruber saw IMS as the answer to the threats posed by the worldly influences, D. J. Fisher, bishop at East Union, feared that IMS represented, in part, an unhealthy philosophy of separation, reaction, and protection. Leaders in two of the largest local Mennonite churches, these two men stood at opposite ends of that philosophical spectrum.

Fisher, who believed that local high schools, especially at Sharon and the recently closed Center High, provided excellent educational opportunities for Mennonites, had misgivings about starting a Mennonite high school. In a letter to Sanford C. Yoder, president of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, he lamented the lack of an agreement with Center School. Not as apprehensive as some about the influence of non-Mennonites, he felt the offer by the Center School Board to be generous and adequate.

In a statement of purpose issued prior to the school's opening, the Iowa School Committee stated that it wanted IMS to "indoctrinate young people in the Word of God." Under a section justifying the creation of IMS and titled "Scriptural and Self-evident Premises," the committee described the world as containing "two distinct classes of people with diverse and often contradictory and sometimes antagonistic motives."

The tone of these statements and of the entire document reflected a philosophy of separation in belief, behavior, and appearance. Over one-half of the text spelled out rules regarding attire, regulations, and conduct, which included detailed descriptions of allowable skirt and sleeve length for girls. Sleeves shorter than elbow length were not permitted and full length stockings were required. The rules stated that "arms and legs should be consistently covered and neck-lines neatly and modestly closed."

Debates regarding dress and appearance sometimes overshadowed

academic, financial, and facility concerns. The minutes of a joint meeting between the Iowa School Committee and the Iowa-Nebraska Conference Committee shortly before the school opened contained a complete and detailed description of a discussion about standards and regulations. This contrasted with a brief, and apparently unstimulating, discussion of the school library. The unnamed writer of the minutes noted that regarding the library "Bro. Horst, D. B.

Swartzendruber and _____, I am not sure who else, were to take care of this matter."

Consistent with their philosophy of separation, the Iowa School Committee avoided close associations with certain Mennonite agencies and boards. Although they later communicated on an informal basis, the School Committee decided very quickly not to "hook up with the Board of Education." They did not explain their decision, but it likely stemmed from misgivings about the liberal tendencies of the board. John Y. Swartzendruber's suspicion of many church agencies and colleges, especially those in the Goshen, Indiana, area was no secret, and others on the school committee would not have strongly disagreed with that opinion.

The Religious Welfare Board, which succeeded the original Iowa School Committee, determined what type of school IMS would be. Because they set guidelines and policy and hired faculty members, this Board, more than any other group or individual, set the tone during the early years. Of those who served, no one carried more weight than John Y. Swartzendruber. In a reference to the Religious Welfare Board, one early version of the constitution stipulated that the "Bishop of the nearest local congregation shall be a standing member of this committee." The nearest local congregation was Lower Deer Creek Church and not surprisingly, their bishop, John Y. Swartzendruber was the chairman of the Board for the 20 years that it existed.

Local institutions that depend upon volunteers and donations for



Ronald, Marjorie, Philip, and Paul T. Guengerich in 1949. Paul T. Guengerich became principal of Iowa Mennonite School in 1949 and represented the best of both the ministerial and the educational worlds. He led the young school with strong church leadership and academic integrity for 15 years. Photo: Mennonite Museum and Archives, Kalona, Iowa.

their survival often owe their very existence to a few extremely committed individuals. Of all of the people involved during those early critical days, two men in particular—John Y. Swartzendruber and Amos Gingerich—put tremendous amounts of time and energy into IMS. At a time when only ideas and dreams exist, it takes strong-willed and determined individuals to bring those dreams to fruition. In the case of IMS, Swartzendruber and Gingerich were the people willing to invest countless hours of thought and work.

At first glance, John Y. Swartzendruber was not someone seen as likely to start a high school. His attitude toward secondary education was cool at best. One woman who attended Lower Deer Creek remembered that he showed little support for her when she left to attend Hesston Academy, a Mennonite high school in Hesston, Kansas. Cast in much the same mold as influential church leaders such as Daniel Kauffman—a man he respected and often quoted—and heavily influenced by his Amish past, John Y. Swartzendruber believed that the growing threat posed by the non-Mennonite world could be countered

by adhering more strictly to Mennonite doctrines.

Those who remember him often described him as stern, conservative, rigid, austere, and uncompromising. Ordained to the ministry at Lower Deer Creek on June 2, 1918, and chosen as bishop less than a year later, he preached long, Bible-based sermons, often followed by equally lengthy prayers.

Swartzendruber feared a growing spiritual decline within the Mennonite church and clearly identified its causes from the pulpit. He did not shirk from the responsibility he felt for his church members.

For example, in a sermon based on I Timothy 4:1-2 delivered on December 28, 1943, he warned of unsound, deceitful teachers, including high school teachers, radio preachers, and authors who flavored their books with modernism. Several weeks later, on February 6, 1944, a day before the important Ministerial Board meeting that commissioned the Mennonite school feasibility study, he spoke of "consciousless Mennonites" who irregularly attended church functions and who had become "exceedingly bold . . . a true sign of spiritual decline."

Coming to services late, irreverence, enjoying foolish high school plays, and involvement in ball contests all contributed to this decay, he said. His sermons articulated a concern for ignoring traditional Mennonite values, and pointed a finger at those responsible.

Robert K. Yoder, a retired minister who worked with John Y. Swartzendruber at Lower Deer Creek, said John Y.'s stress on the "do's and don'ts" may have obscured basic ideas on salvation and the Christian life in ways which John Y. never intended. At times he antagonized people who saw his emphasis on personal appearance and discipline as cold and legalistic. Not a naturally gregarious person, his preaching and administrative style distanced him from those for whom he cared most deeply, and overshadowed the sensitive and sympathetic facets of his personality.

People who saw John Y. only in his ministerial role may not have appreciated his other dimensions. Those who knew him otherwise saw a different side and found him rather quiet, and generally agreeable. Edwin D. Miller, who worked for him on the farm, remembered that in a time when compliments were rarely given, John Y. praised his work. Another person remembered going to Emery Mose Yoder's lumberyard where John Y. worked and found him freer and more open than at church.

Emery Hochstetler recalled serving with John Y. on the Religious Welfare Board at IMS when the Board did the hiring and the occasional firing. When they decided to not rehire one faculty member—an individual John Y. personally liked very much—it fell on John Y.'s shoulders to deliver the bad news that the contract would not be renewed. The personal distress he felt clearly impressed Emery Hochstetler who had not expected such an empathetic reaction.

More than anything else, John Y. Swartzendruber feared the changes that tempted Mennonites to abandon their old ways in favor of a modernism which he viewed with deep suspicion. He believed Mennonites needed to look more to the past than

to the future. In his mind even small, ostensibly harmless changes could—and usually would—open the door to larger, destructive changes.

Whether his fears were justified is debatable, but he correctly understood that once changes are made, they are very difficult to undo. John Y. Swartzendruber, and others who shared this philosophy, believed that gradual, deliberate change guided by ordained leaders was the safest path.


Although John Y. saw secondary education as frivolous and unnecessary, he feared the worldly influence of secular education even more. He recognized that the tide could not be held back as increasing numbers of local Mennonite youth began to attend high school during the 1930s and 1940s. As Mennonite young people mixed with non-Mennonite youth, unwanted influences could not be controlled.

In addition to John Y., Amos Gingerich, minister at West Union, strongly supported the creation of a Mennonite high school. Unlike Swartzendruber, Amos Gingerich lived many of his early years outside the Kalona-Wellman area, coming back to West Union to serve as minister in 1939 when he was nearly 60 years old. The years he spent as a young man in Wright County, Iowa, as part of a small Amish settlement put him in contact with non-Mennonite and non-Amish populations and likely fostered his intense interest in education.

Amos Gingerich attended Teachers' Institutes and Normal School before he spent eight years teaching in the public schools. Unlike some of his contemporaries, he reconciled his educational interests with his Christian life and remained deeply committed to the Mennonite Church, serving as a minister in Missouri for almost 25 years. During the depression, he served as business manager at Hesston College and almost single-handedly rescued the school with his innovative methods that saved money and kept the doors open. Amos Gingerich could make a little go a long way.

While Amos Gingerich and John Y. Swartzendruber agreed on the essence

of a Christian life, Gingerich's interest in IMS seemed to be rooted more deeply in a desire to provide educational opportunities for Mennonite young people. Unlike John Y. Swartzendruber, who did not highly value education beyond the eighth grade, Amos Gingerich encouraged his children to attend high school and beyond. Some felt that more than any other person, he pulled the community together behind IMS. After his death in 1962 the Reverie recognized Gingerich and said of his efforts: "There was probably no one more instrumental in the establishing of Iowa Mennonite School than Brother Gingerich." He had traveled widely and, while conservative in many respects, Amos was a logical and clear thinker and saw beyond the legalism often associated with those times.

John Y. Swartzendruber and Amos Gingerich may have been very influential, but they did not act alone. Faculty members, administrators, students, parents, and community people all left their imprint on IMS. Events of the first day of classes illustrated the range of support and concern for IMS. On September 17, 1945, a group of patrons, students, committee and board members, faculty, and other interested persons met in White Gables to celebrate the opening of IMS. During their time together "heart-felt expressions of appreciation, of earnest request, of well-wishing, of caution and of promise to pray, to cooperate and to give were given by verbal testimony, uniting in prayers, [and] by hand shakes." So passed the day that marked the small beginning in the white farmhouse tucked in the hickory grove overlooking Deer Creek. 

Franklin L. Yoder of Kalona, Iowa, is author of **Opening a Window to the World: A History of the Iowa Mennonite School** (to be released in November 1994). This essay is excerpted from chapter two of **Opening a Window to the World**, which may be purchased from Iowa Mennonite School, 1421 540th Street SW, Kalona, IA 52247. Documentation appears in the book.

Catholic-Mennonite and Anabaptist

By Dennis D. Martin

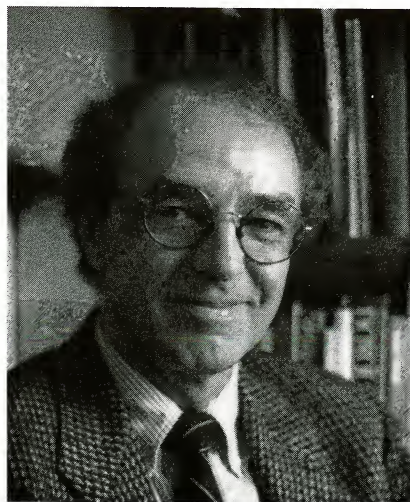
Rempel, John D. *The Lord's Supper in Anabaptism: A Study in Christology of Balthasar Hubmaier, Pilgram Marpeck, and Dirk Philips*. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1993. Pp. 272. \$29.95.

This is an important book, long overdue. Anabaptist studies have been characterized, since the Mennonite renaissance earlier in this century, by a sort of tunnel vision. Even the new Anabaptist scholarship of the last thirty years has, for the most part, functioned in a vacuum, remarkably ill-informed about pre-Reformation theology. John Rempel has begun the process of interpreting Anabaptist theology on the Lord's Supper against the background of classic Christology, although, given the need to work through the sixteenth-century primary sources, he has had to depend primarily on secondary accounts of pre-Reformation theology.

Wading through the writings of three, well-selected personages, Rempel has performed a valuable service by seeking out the central themes in what are often inconsistent and less than systematic writings, then distilling common elements from all three, while noting their distinctive qualities. All three share a spiritualistic understanding of the Lord's Supper and accent the spiritual work of Christ.

The section on Hubmaier illustrates well this spiritualizing tendency. Fundamental to Hubmaier's theology is his conviction that, after the ascension, Jesus Christ can only be physically and substantially absent from earth. Jesus' historical work is finished; the Holy Spirit takes over. "Functionally, the Spirit and the church represent and replace Christ." (87).

However, Hubmaier meant well. He was trying to find an innovative



John D. Rempel: "an exceedingly learned, honest, humble, and earnest scholar" tried to find an Anabaptist warrant for his sacramental commitments. Would he have found more during the Mennonite period?

way of opposing the idea of spirit as inwardness; to find a way to speak about spiritual reality as external. As Rempel points out in his introduction (26), the Anabaptists mistakenly thought medieval Catholic sacramental theology was more materialistic than it actually was. (While insisting on Christ's real *bodily* presence, medieval Catholic theology equally insisted that, to outward, material appearances, this body and blood looked like, felt like, tasted like, bread and wine.) Hubmaier was thus misled by the caricature he was fighting.

Compared with Hubmaier, Marpeck, with his idea of the union of inner and outer in the "co-witness" of the sacraments, remained largely within the framework of pre-Reformation creeds and trinitarian doctrine. He was interested in the dynamics of the Trinity as a way to understand the unity of external and internal in the sacraments, drawing on the traditional understanding of the two natures of Christ (160). Among Anabaptists, only in Marpeck is the eucharist theologically and devotionally central (162-63); Marpeck gives by far the strongest Anabaptist defense of the outer and material ele-

ments in the Lord's Supper.

Yet Marpeck denies any bodily real presence of Christ in the eucharist (112). God saves us through the humanity of the Son, but that humanity is now in heaven; through his *spiritual* presence on earth Christ mediates the saving power of his incarnation (115).

Where Marpeck departs from traditional theology (in locating Christ's physical presence solely in heaven, not in the consecrated bread and wine (108); in denying the divine preexistence of Christ (116); in making the power of the sacrament *dependent* on faith (129, 137-38); in taking a sudden, clearly spiritualistic, Zwinglian turn at the end of his treatise, the *Verantwortung* (140), after expending so much energy defending the unity of inner and outer against Schwenkfeld), Rempel ascribes the departure once more to a good motive: "In order to rescue the eucharist from its misunderstanding as a material presence of Christ" (141). In other words, widespread misrepresentation of medieval Catholic teaching on the eucharist is responsible for the flaws in Marpeck's theology—in fighting a caricature he went overboard (139-40).

Along the way, Rempel argues that there were several different Catholic traditions until the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century. Because the Catholic doctrinal center was not clear until Trent, Marpeck did not realize the crudely materialistic theology of Christ's presence he was fighting was an aberration and he took it seriously.

This reviewer comments that the absence of a definition does not necessarily mean the absence of a main tradition on a topic—it may mean that the mainstream was so strong that no clear challenge had yet emerged, hence no definition. After the initial shake-out of the first two centuries, a significant challenge to the mainstream belief in Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist first emerged in the ninth and eleventh centuries. In response, the Church decisively affirmed Christ's real-yet-veiled bodily

ly presence. The various debates of the following centuries until the Reformation have to do largely with how that bodily presence came about, not with whether it came about. It was not difficult in the sixteenth century for a devout layman to know the central tradition: real, bodily presence, veiled under outward appearance of bread and wine.

At the core of Dirk Philip's theology of the Lord's Supper, we find an anti-sacramental "belief in the unmediated union of the believer with Christ" (190, cf. 184). Yet Rempel detects even in Dirk a limited defense of the outward: "the command of Christ and the historical nature of human existence are invoked as a protection against discarding all material signs of divine presence."

As indicated by the last quotation, the underlying basis for Dirk's theology is what really matters: for Dirk, who is pervasively dualistic (160, 168), the human body is incapable of embodying grace (170), hence Christ brought his body with him from heaven. Here, Rempel rejects the conventional term used to describe North German Anabaptist views of Christ's body (*celestial flesh*), preferring instead "unfallen humanity, since Dirk uses 'flesh' in an odd way to refer to Christ's divine nature in the eucharist (169). But 'unfallen humanity' is also imprecise. Traditional Catholic theology located fallenness in the will's misuse of created things. Original sin, though passed on through physical procreation, is not lodged in the body, although it affects the body. Dirk seems to have misunderstood patristic and medieval Catholic theologies insistence that Christ received anything fallen, apparently because it linked fallenness and body to closely. Dirk's willingness to accept a Christ whose body (and therefore humanity) is "fundamentally different from ours" (171) undercuts the central presupposition of all patristic Christology and soteriology: what has not been assumed has not been redeemed.

Thus all three Anabaptists simply did not understand the traditions they were rejecting. Anabaptism, at least in these three instances, rests on fundamentally flawed premises.

The book concludes with a survey

of what happened to Anabaptist theology of the Lord's Supper in the post-Anabaptist, Mennonite centuries. Rempel points out that an increasingly spiritualized, Zwinglian "real absence" theology took over in many instances. In one sense, this is certainly true. At the same time, Mennonite practice had much more room for a unity of inner and outer, for created things as vehicles for grace, than Mennonite theology did. (224-25). The present reviewer doubts that the three Anabaptist writers studied here really offer a way out of post-Anabaptist "real absence" theology. Is it really possible to build a solid sacramental theology on the shaky dualistic premises that, in the end, undergird even Marpeck?


At this point, a personal truth-in-packaging disclaimer is in order. Over a 20-year period, firsthand acquaintance with medieval and patristic sources has led me away from Anabaptism and into Catholicism. My eyes were opened to the richness of non-Anabaptist, sacramental tradition by, among others, John Rempel.

John Rempel is an exceedingly learned, honest, humble, and earnest scholar and pastor who has tackled what seems to me an insoluble problem. He would like to find an Anabaptist warrant for his sacramental commitments. I simply am not convinced that these commitments can be grounded in Anabaptism. One can do far better with the Mennonite period. One finds a full-orbed sacramental practice described in Robert Baker's article "My Good Bishop" (reprinted from *Gospel Herald* in *Mennonite Encyclopedia V*, pp. 86-88). But the Mennonite tradition is disintegrating. This puts worship renewers with traditional sacramental commitments between a rock and hard place. That John Rempel and I have differing churchly loyalties certainly colors how we read Anabaptist history and its potential for contemporary Mennonite renewal.

This book should be read by all those concerned about the life of worship in Mennonite churches. It does assume some technical knowledge of Anabaptism and church history, but can be read by anyone seriously interested in these matters. It raises many

of the right questions, many of them for the first time. It does not hesitate to point out where the Anabaptists departed from the central Christian tradition of Christ's divinity and humanity.

An informed judgment as to whether those departures were laudable or regrettable can only be made if students of Anabaptism learn to know the medieval and patristic traditions at first hand. To do that, it might be wise to go easy on sixteenth-century studies for a while.

John Rempel's excellent and thorough study yields mixed results for Mennonite renewal, which indicates to this reviewer that the sixteenth-century pot has been stirred long enough. Why not harvest a healthy portion of the rich pre-Reformation vegetation, toss it into the pot, and let it stew for a while? 

Dennis D. Martin, an editor of *Mennonite Encyclopedia V*, teaches at Loyola University Chicago.

Recent Publications

Kurtz, Agnes Bixler. **John Bixler Pioneer, Immigrant, Farmer and his Descendants.** 1993. Pp. 151. Author, Box 962, Hanover, NH 03755.

Roth, Donald W. **The Family of Joseph and Barbara (Ulrich) Litwiller.** 1994. Pp. 341. \$25.00. Author, 2733 Windridge Ct., Ft. Wayne, IN Zip

Roth, Lorraine. **John and Anna (Zehr) Wagler Family History and Genealogy.** 1993. Pp. 214. \$18.00. Verna Schwartzentruber, 213 Boulee St., New Hamburg, ON NOB 2G0
Shetler, Margaret. **The Miller Book: a genealogy and directory of the descendants of Levi J. and Mattie (Zook) Miller.** Scotts Mills, Oregon. Pp. 94.

Warkentin, Solomon H. **Heinrich and Maria Regehr Warkentin 1824/1910 1828/1913.** 1981. Pp. 209. \$20.00. Carl E. Latschar, 2102 Brookwood Lane, Salina, KS 67401.

Stories Among the Brethren

By Marlene Epp

Ewert, David. **A Journey of Faith: An Autobiography.** Winnipeg: Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1993. Pp. 257. \$13.95.

Nafziger, Elfrieda Toews. **A Man of His Word: A Biography of John A. Toews.** Hillsboro: Kindred Press, 1992. Pp. 183. \$11.50.

Toews, J. B. **A Pilgrimage of Faith: The Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia and North America 1860-1990.** Hillsboro: Kindred Press, 1993. Pp. 376. \$11.95.

Three recently published books demonstrate how closely interwoven are the stories of individuals and the institutions within which they work. Although one is a biography (Nafziger), another an autobiography (Ewert) and the third a traditional church history (Toews), each in its own way chronicles the history of the Mennonite Brethren (MB) church community. Reading the three together in fact provides a perspective that each author alone does not convey.

Elfrieda Toews Nafziger wrote a biography of her father, John A. Toews, a decade after his death in 1979. Nafziger traces her father's story from his birth in the Ukraine, through his family's immigration to Canada in 1926 and settlement as farmers on the prairies to subsequent training for the ministry at Tabor College.

Toews' career saw him as a Bible school teacher, a chaplain to conscientious objectors, an evangelist, a historian, and a professor at Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC) in Winnipeg. Toews gained stature within the MB community over the years and was elected moderator of the Canadian MB conference in 1953 and three years later, president of MBBC.

Though Toews was an insider in

MB institutions and was representative of the conservative theology and evangelical style characteristic of the conference and the college, he also developed a reputation as a maverick. He stood somewhat on the edge when it came to certain issues. For instance, he was at odds with many MB leaders, particularly in the U.S., over his staunch advocacy of the Anabaptist tradition of pacifism.

He also advocated a return to Anabaptist biblicism and discipleship and a move away from the "hyper-fundamentalism" and "hyper-dispensationalism" which threatened the MB church. Toews was also criticized at times by other MBs for his strong inter-Mennonite interests, including his regular appearances at Mennonite World Conferences and his ongoing dialogue with the (Old) Mennonite Church.

His reputation as an MB liberal prompted one critic to refer to him as the "Canadian Krushchev" (p. 110). In his latter years, Toews put his energies into his love of history, authoring an important history of the Mennonite Brethren church in North America (1976) and returning to MBBC after a nine-year absence to develop a center for historical research.

What is especially interesting and unique about this biography is the way it chronicles the role of a church leader's family. Although Nafziger portrays her mother and siblings as generally supportive of her father's many involvements which often took him away from home, enough is said to make the reader fully aware of the resentment and distance felt by the family.

She says, "While he was in his forties and early fifties, John seemed to derive his greatest satisfaction from the College rather than from his family" (p. 90). This biography is commendable for its well-balanced blend of institutional history and anecdotal life stories.

Another perspective on the MB story is found in the autobiography of one of Toews' contemporaries,

David Ewert. Their respective life stories are in many ways similar: both immigrated with their families to the Canadian prairies in 1926; both Toews and Ewert taught for extended periods at MBBC and both served as college president for a time; both were active throughout their lives in MB conference work; both had reputations as innovators and liberals within MB circles.

Their differing conversion experiences illuminate one of the debates which existed in the MB church at the time. Toews had "no dramatic crisis experience" (p. 13) while Ewert "bolted out of bed" (p. 50) one night with the declaration that he wanted to be converted.

Unlike the Toews biography, which is rich with amusing and touching anecdotes revealing the subject's full humanity, Ewert, in writing about his own life, chose to "err on the side of reticence" (p. x). Despite the limited inner personal reflection, Ewert nevertheless contributes to a social historical understanding of agricultural and community life in southern Alberta where he lived from age six to 21.

Even more than in Toews' biography, Ewert's story provides glimpses into MB church life through his memories of its leaders. In one of his rare quips, Ewert recalls the style of Coaldale MB church leader Jacob Siemens: "If only he had kept to the gospel rather than constantly denouncing the worldliness of the members (pity the women who came to church wearing short-sleeved dresses!)" (p. 48).

Like Toews, Ewert recalls the rigid constraints placed on male-female relationships at the time. Both remembered that at the Coaldale Bible School the boys sat in front while the girls sat in back in order that the former sex not be distracted by the latter. In Ewert's words: "The other way around evidently posed no similar threat" (p. 64).

Ewert's almost wordless courtship with his future wife, Lena Hamm, occurred within these boundaries

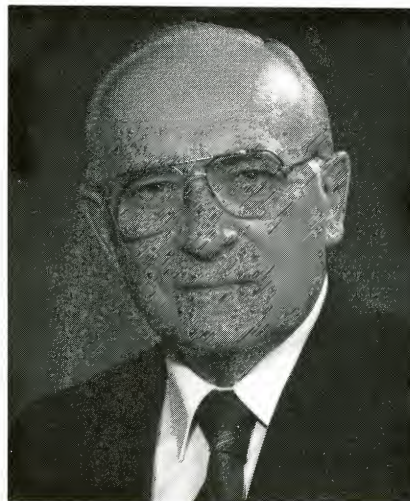
which today seem quite amazing. When he was called to teach at the Bible school in LaGlance, Alberta, where Lena lived, Ewert was given the choice that either she leave town or they get married, since it was inappropriate for a single teacher and his girlfriend to live in such close proximity!

Ewert went on to a full career as college and seminary professor, and a conference leader. His many involvements and travels are sometimes described with too much factual detail, leaving the reader wishing for more reflection and analysis. Nevertheless, Ewert has written an interesting story about his own life and thus also about the institutions within which he worked.

Another Mennonite Brethren patriarch, J. B. Toews, has also written his own story but in a more indirect way. His 1993 book, **A Pilgrimage of Faith**, chronicles the history of the Mennonite Brethren Church from its beginnings in the Ukraine in 1860 through to the present day. More than a history, however, Toews' book is a treatise on the Mennonite Brethren "search for identity amidst the blinding cultural changes of the late twentieth century" (p. iii).

The first third of the book is devoted to the early development of the Mennonite Brethren church in Russia, focusing on the theological and doctrinal positions of the church and its beginnings as a renewal movement amongst Russian Mennonites. The second part deals primarily with the MB church in North America, following the 1920s immigration from the Soviet Union through to the post-World War II era. The focus here is on institutional developments, especially in the area of education, and theological shifts and influences.

The first chapter in the final part of the book, entitled "Wrestling with Modernity," is indicative of the author's closing emphasis. Here Toews examines the postwar era in which the Mennonite Brethren were no longer a "protected subculture" where "life, theology and ethics were relatively fixed" (p. 205). He outlines



David Ewert, seminary professor and Mennonite Brethren conference leader, wrote an interesting story about his own life, but left "the reader wishing for more reflection and analysis." Photo: Mennonite Publishing House

the crisis faced by the Mennonite Brethren in the face of modernity and offers some possible directions.

What is glaringly absent from Toews' discussion is the crisis facing the MBs on the issue of women in the ministry. In a chapter devoted to changes in church leadership, he does not mention the demands that many women MBs are making for acceptance in a traditional male domain. His otherwise provocative analysis of the challenges facing MBs on the threshold of the twenty-first century is thus tainted by an omission which in itself illuminates how deep the crisis is.

For those interested in a social historical understanding of the Mennonite Brethren community in Canada, the Toews and Ewert life stories provide highly readable and occasionally startling perspectives. For a more traditional confessional portrayal of the Mennonite Brethren, the J. B. Toews book offers a primarily theological approach to history. All three genres are useful in their own way. *D*

Marlene Epp, of Cambridge, Ontario, is a doctoral candidate in Canadian history at the University of Toronto.

News and Notes

Unity Amidst Diversity: MCC and the 20th Century Mennonite is the title of a conference at Fresno Pacific College, and Mennonite Brethren Seminary, March 9-12, 1995. The meetings will commemorate the 75th anniversary of Mennonite Central Committee and is sponsored by MCC, Fresno Pacific College and Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary. For information contact MCC Akron, PA 19750; MCC West Coast, 1010 G Street, Reedley, CA 93654; or Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, MBBS, 4824 E. Butler, Fresno, CA 93727.

Frank H. Epp Memorial Fund invites applications for study projects related to subjects such as history, peacemaking, Mennonite ecumenicity, and the Christian faith. Preferences is given to Canadian Mennonites and the deadline is November 15. Applications forms are available from: The Administrative Committee, Frank H. Epp Memorial Fund, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario, N2L 3G6.

Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church met October 22-23, 1994, at Harleysville, Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the conference "The Experience of Mennonite Women."

Randall Horst's name disappeared from the masthead of the **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** with the July issue when he and his family moved to Montana. Randy Horst did an excellent service in graphic design for the Bulletin and other Historical Committee publications during the past four years, and his generous spirit will be missed.

Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania sponsored a flower, herb, and vegetable gardens tour on July 23.

John L. Ruth of Harleysville, Pennsylvania, spoke at the dedication of the newly completed facility of the Mennonite Historical Association of Cumberland Valley on July 23 at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. **Roy Showalter** presented the history of Mennonites in the Cumberland Valley on a day which was also the meeting of the Eastern Mennonite Associated

Libraries and Archives.


The Jewish, Mennonite, Ukrainian Conference Committee is calling for papers in planning a Canadian academic and community meeting in 1995. For more information or to submit a topic, contact the coordinator: Burt Friesen, 370 Hargrove Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 2K1.

Mast Stoltzfus, longtime board member and supporter of the Juniata District Historical Society, died on May 18, 1994. He had served on the board since 1973, and secretary, J. Lloyd Gingrich, said: "We will miss his knowledge and counsel."

Leroy Beachy of Berlin, Ohio, was the main speaker at the Casselman River Amish and Mennonite

Historians annual meeting, September 2-3. Beachy believes that 1994 is more appropriate for a tricentennial because the final break between the Reist and Ammann groups occurred in 1694. He also nominated Uli Miller as the founder of the Amish rather than Jakob Ammann. Other speakers at the meeting included Leonard Gross, Paul Kline, and Henry Erb.

Hope Kauffman Lind and Carolyn Charles Wenger completed work on a booklet **The Task of the Congregational Historian**. The booklet was released at "The Experience of Mennonite Women" conference October 20-22, 1994, at Harleysville, Pennsylvania. Copies will be sent to members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association.

The Institute of Mennonite Studies and Mennonite Mutual Aid, will grant up to eight research stipends in the amount of \$1,500 each, plus some expenses, to qualifying candidates. Areas of study include but are not limited to: biblical, Anabaptist church history, theological-ethical, sociological, 18th-19th and 20th century Mennonite history, MMA history, and changing patterns of mutual aid. Applications are due by December 10, 1994, and selections will be announced January 15, 1995. For a prospectus of the project and application form, write to Mutual Aid Project, Institute of Mennonite Studies, 3003 Benham Ave., Elkhart, IN 46517 (or call 219 296-6239). 

Mennonite Historical Bulletin

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